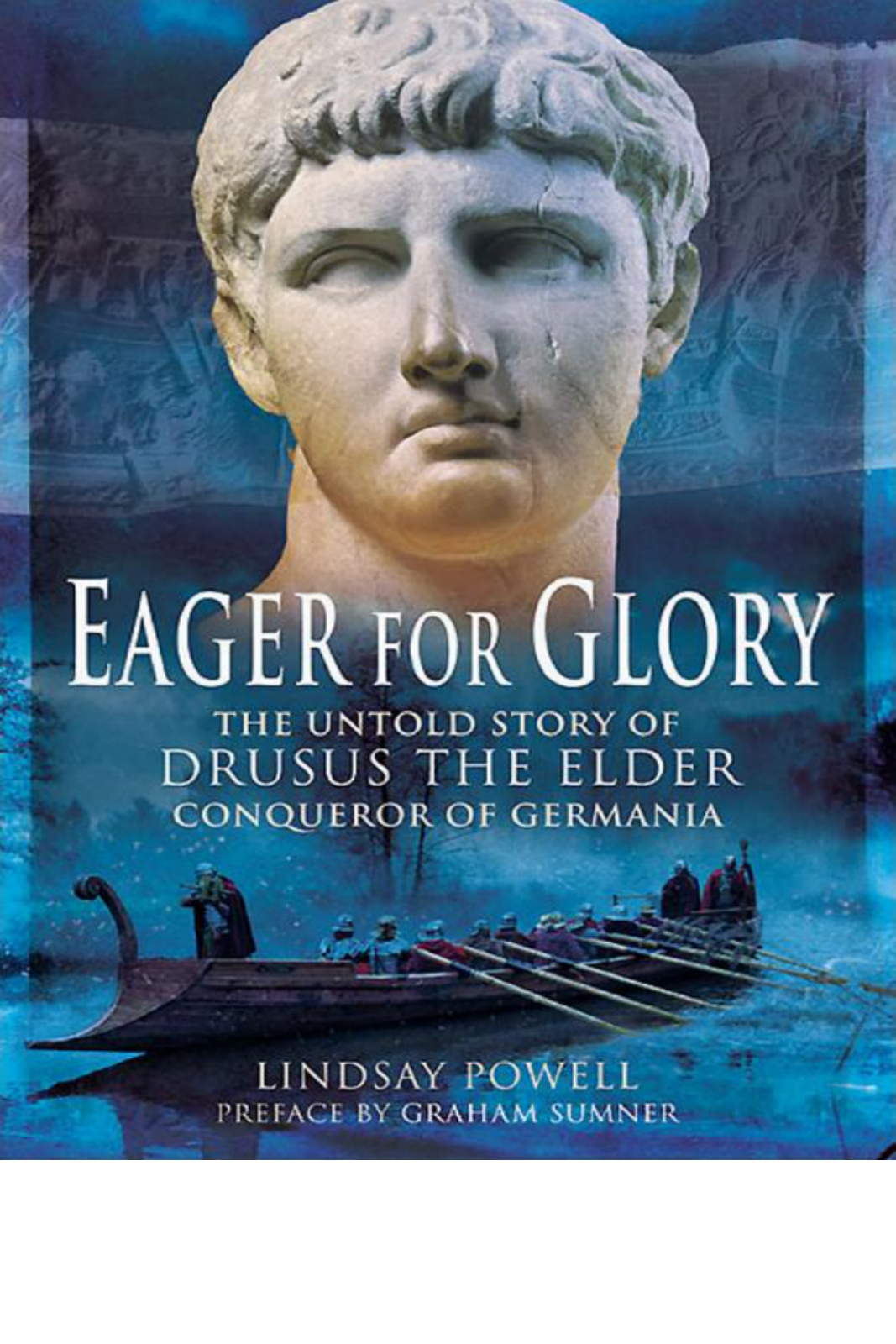


For my father Haydn Vivian Powell (1924–1993)

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EAGER FOR GLORY

THE UNTOLD STORY OF
DRUSUS THE ELDER
CONQUEROR OF GERMANIA

LINDSAY POWELL
PREFACE BY GRAHAM SUMNER

For my father Haydn Vivian Powell (1924–1993)

Eager for Glory

The Untold Story of Drusus
the Elder, Conqueror of Germania

Lindsay Powell



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Contents

Acknowledgements

Foreword

Chronology

List of Illustrations

Maps and Plans

Roman Names

Preface

1. Drusus the Youth
2. Drusus the Soldier
3. Drusus the Builder
4. Drusus the Explorer
5. Drusus the Commander
6. Drusus the Consul
7. Drusus the Hero
8. Assessment

Stemmata

The Step-Children of Augustus

Gazeteer

Glossary

Place Names

Ancient Sources

Notes

Bibliography

Acknowledgements

Writing about the life of another person is a fascinating challenge, especially one long dead and almost entirely forgotten. There were no living family relations or witnesses available to interview. However, there were several living people who knew parts of the story and others who did not but were nevertheless eager to help me tell it. I start with family and friends. My partner, mother, brother and, in particular, my friend Sonia St James (self-styled ‘muse to creative minds’) have all offered much appreciated encouragement throughout the project – they know how much this book meant to me. To my editor at Pen and Sword Books, Philip Sidnell, who responded enthusiastically to my proposal, graciously offered to take on this project, and guided it through to completion, I shall always be grateful.

I feel very privileged indeed that Graham Sumner agreed to kindly write the foreword to this, my first book. I have known Graham since I joined the Ermine Street Guard and have long admired his writings and illustrations, which reveal his deep knowledge of military matters of the Roman period.

This book tells the story of Drusus the Elder in both words and pictures. From the academic community I must thank David Potter, Arthur F. Thurnau Professor of Greek and Latin, Department of Classical Studies at The University of Michigan, for permission to use excerpts from his unpublished translation of the *Tabula Siarensis*; and Professor Ann Kuttner, Department of History of Art at the University of Pennsylvania, for permission to use insightful statements from her *Dynasty and Empire in the Age of Augustus: The Case of the Boscoreale Cups*.

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their photographs, some of which they took specially for this book.

War stories cannot be told without the aid of maps. I sincerely thank Carlos De La Rocha of Satrapa Ediciones, whose work frequently appears in *Ancient Warfare* magazine, for creating the superb maps of the Roman Empire and of Drusus' campaigns.

My thanks also go to William Stavinoha, M.D. in Austin, Texas, who very graciously corroborated the plausibility of my interpretations of medical issues described in the ancient texts. For help with Latin sources I thank Dorian Borbonus, Bob Durrett, *Magister* Ginny Lindzey and Michael J. Taylor.

I have quoted extracts from several ancient authors' works whose voices add greatly to the narrative. For the translations, I used: Augustus' *Res Gestae* translated by Thomas Bushnell, BSG, and reproduced with permission, 1998; Julius Caesar's *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* translated by Edward Brooks in *The First Six Books of the Gallic War*, Chicago: The Cenn Publishing Company, 1896; Cassius Dio's 'Ρωμαϊκὴ Ἱστορία (*Romaikon Istoría*) translated by E. Cary based on the version by H.B. Foster in *Dio's Roman History*, London: William Heinemann, 1917; Cicero's *Epistulae* in *The Letters of Cicero: The Whole Extant Correspondence in Chronological Order* translated by Evelyn S. Shuckburgh, London: George Bell and Sons, 1905; Cicero's *Oratio pro L. Murena*, IX-XI, in *The Orations of Marcus Tullius Cicero*, Volume 2, translated by C.D. Young, p. 340, London: Bell, 1891; Florus' *Epitome* translated by John Selby in *Sallust, Florus and Velleius Paterculus*, London: George Bell and Sons, 1889; Hippokrates' Περὶ Αἰγμών (*Peri Agmon*) translated by Francis Adams in *The Genuine Works of Hippocrates*, Volume 2, London: Sydenham Society, 1849; Horace's *Carmina* translated by John Conington in *The Odes and Carmen Saeculare of Horace, Translated into English Verse*, London: M.A. Bell and Daldy, 1863; Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia* translated by John Bostock and H.T. Riley in *The Natural History of Pliny*, Volume 3, London: Henry Bohn, 1855; Pliny the Younger's *Epistulae Selectae* translated by John Delaware Lewis in *The Letters of the Younger Pliny*, London: Keegan Paul, 1890; Plutarch's Οἱ Βίου Παράλληλοι (*Oi Vioi Paralliloi*) translated by John Langhorne and William Langhorne in *Plutarch's Lives*, London: William Tegg, 1868; Seneca the Younger's *De Consolatio ad Marciam* translated by John W. Basore in *Moral Essays*, Volume 2, London: William Heinemann, 1932; Suetonius' *De Vita Caesarum* translated by Alexander Thomson in *The Lives of the*

Twelve Caesars, London: George Bell and Sons, 1893; Tacitus' *Ab Excessu Divi Augusti* translated by Alfred John Church and William Jackson Bodribb in *The Annals of Tacitus*, London: MacMillan and Co., 1906; Tacitus' *De Origine et Situ Germanorum* translated by R. B. Townsend in *The Agricola and Germania of Tacitus*, London: Methuen and Co., 1894; Tacitus' *Historiae*, translated by Alfred John Church and William Jackson Bodribb in *The History of Tacitus*, London: MacMillan and Co., 1876; Velleius Paterculus' *Historiae Romanae* translated by John Selby in *Sallust, Florus and Velleius Paterculus*, London: George Bell, 1889; and Vergil's *Aeneid* translated by John Dryden in 1697 in an improved edition by John Carey of *The Works of Virgil Translated into English Verse*, Volume 1, London: George Cowie and Co., 1819. The translated extract from *Consolatio ad Liviam* on page 143 comes from W. Francis H. King's *Classical Quotations: A Polyglot Manual of Historical and Literary Sayings, Noted Passages in Poetry and Prose, Phrases, Proverbs and Bons Mots*, London: J. Whitaker and Sons, 1904. The quotation attributed to Pliny the Elder on page 143 comes from Josiah Hotchkiss Gilbert's *Dictionary of Burning Words of Brilliant Writers: A Cyclopaedia of Quotations from the Literature of All Ages*, New York: Wilbur B. Ketcham, 1895.

Foreword

by Graham Sumner

Like many readers perhaps, my previous knowledge of Drusus the Elder was based almost entirely on two separate sources. The first was the portrayal of Drusus in the highly acclaimed BBC/PBS Masterpiece Theater television series *I, Claudius*; whilst the second was the statue of Drusus illustrated, for example, in the classic volume *The Armour of Imperial Rome* by H. Russell Robinson. Both depictions show Drusus as a handsome young man, an accomplished soldier and, judging from the statue, one not averse to embellishing his armour with elaborate and unnecessary decoration like so many of his contemporaries.

The television character, played by actor Ian Ogilvy, is mourned after his death by his devoted wife Antonia, as Queen Victoria did for her consort Prince Albert, and who, like the British monarch, never re-marries. While this depiction was based on the scholarly work of Robert Graves who translated the biographies of the Caesars by the Roman author Suetonius, I was politely informed by Lindsay that the statue of Drusus was in all probability not a statue of *the* Drusus after all but more likely one of Drusus the Younger, the son of his brother Tiberius.

This is a timely reminder then that Roman history is not always what at first it appears to be. Further evidence of this was highlighted recently by two archaeological discoveries in Britain. Firstly, for the first time in over a hundred years a spectacular Roman helmet was discovered, which would have been classified by Russell Robinson as a 'sports type'. Only two other even remotely comparable helmets had been found in Britain but the latest discovery was of a very unusual design. Found by a man with a metal detector it sold at auction for over £2 million!

Secondly, at Caerleon in South Wales – ironically a stone's throw away from where Lindsay was born – in the former legionary fortress of *Legio II Augusta*, the remains of at least two sets of Roman armour were unearthed. While one was the familiar metal strip armour we call today *lorica segmentata*, the second type at first analysis appears to be a strange variation of scale armour with round rather than arch-shaped scales.

Both the helmet and the armour will probably be talked about for many years to come but they illustrate that even today, after centuries of study, not everything is known about the Romans and something new and surprising may await around the corner. Of course not only artifacts can be lost and forgotten awaiting rediscovery but whole personalities can be as well. One such individual is Drusus the Elder, illuminated at last in this the first biography of an important personality from the beginnings of Rome's empire and for which Lindsay is to be congratulated.

I first met Lindsay over twenty years ago when we served together in the world's oldest Roman army re-enactment group, The Ermine Street Guard – a society to which, it is fair to say, we both owe a great debt. An abiding memory from those days was when the society took part in a film shoot for a television documentary series filmed in and around a recreated Celtic farmstead. Filming can be extremely tedious, involving many re-shoots or long periods of simply standing around awaiting direction. During one such period a few legionaries, including Lindsay, began throwing large stems of grass at one another like mock javelins. Suddenly, to everyone's amusement, as Lindsay threw his 'javelin' the entire right shoulder section of his armour detached itself and slid unceremoniously to the ground!

It is a sad fact that we lack so many individual anecdotes like this from the Roman world. Nonetheless Lindsay has produced a highly entertaining, thoughtful and readable account of a great Roman, which I am sure will be a treasured work on any Roman enthusiast's bookshelf.

Chester
October 2010

Chronology

<i>Dates (BCE)</i>	<i>Events</i>	<i>Drusus' Age</i>
44		
March 15	Assassination of Gaius Julius Caesar.	
43	Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus consul (1). Triumvirate formed between Octavianus, M. Antonius and M. Aemilius Lepidus.	
42		
November 16	Tiberius Claudius Nero (Drusus' brother) born.	
41	Antonius meets Kleopatra, winters in Alexandria.	
40	Octavianus marries Scribonia. Antonius marries Octavia Minor.	
February	Fall of Perugia.	
October	Pact of Brundisium.	
39	Pact of Misenum (spring).	
September 23	Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa campaigns in Gallia Comata. Octavianus publicly courts Livia Drusilla (Drusus' mother).	
38	Triumvirate renewed.	
January 13	Decimus Claudius Drusus born to Tiberius Claudius Nero (father) and Livia.	
January 17	Octavianus divorces Scribonia, marries Livia. Tiberius and Drusus returned into Nero's care. Sextus Pompeius defeats Octavianus off Cumae and in Straits of Messina. Ubii relocate across the Rhine to Oppidum Ubiorum under Agrippa.	
37	Pact of Tarentum (spring).	1
36	Lepidus dropped from Triumvirate.	
January 31	Antonia Minor born to Antonius and Octavia.	
September 3	Octavianus defeats Pompeius at Battle of Naulochus.	2
35	Pompeius killed.	
	Octavianus campaigns in Illyricum.	3
34	Antonius annexes Armenia.	4

<i>Dates (BCE)</i>	<i>Events</i>	<i>Drusus' Age</i>
33	Octavianus consul (2). Nero dies: Tiberius and Drusus move in with their mother. Drusus adopts the <i>praenomen</i> Nero (?). Triumvirate lapses at the end of the year. Agrippa aedile.	5
32	Antonius divorces Octavia.	6
31	Octavianus consul (3).	
September	Octavianus victorious at Battle of Actium.	7
30	Octavianus consul (4). Octavianus takes Alexandria and army of Aegyptus. Antonius and Kleopatra commit suicide. Trier founded.	8
29	Octavianus consul (5).	
August 13–15	Octavianus' triple triumph: Drusus participates riding in Octavianus' chariot.	9
28	Octavianus consul (6).	
	Work on Mausoleum for Octavianus begins in Rome.	10
27–24	Drusus and Livia possibly in Gallia Comata and Hispania with Augustus, Tiberius and Marcus Claudius Marcellus.	
27	Octavianus consul (7).	
January	First Constitutional Settlement agreed: Octavianus henceforth called Augustus.	
April 24	Tiberius assumes the <i>toga virilis</i> .	11
26	Augustus consul (8). Tiberius in Hispania as military tribune.	12
25	Augustus consul (9). Augustus falls ill, convalesces in Tarraco.	
	Julia marries Marcellus.	13
24	Augustus consul (10). Augustus, Tiberius, Marcellus and possibly Livia and Drusus, return to Rome.	14
23	Augustus consul (11). Augustus at Rome falls ill. Tiberius appointed <i>quaestor</i> .	
March 17 or April 24	Drusus assumes the <i>toga virilis</i> . Second Constitutional Settlement agreed: Augustus resigns consulship, but receives <i>imperium maius</i> and <i>tribunicia potestas</i> . Death of Marcellus.	
	Agrippa travels to Syria empowered with greater <i>maius</i> .	15
22 19	Drusus probably in the East with Augustus, Livia and Tiberius.	
22	Augustus' party sets off for the East. Spends winter in Sicily.	16
21	Augustus' party travels to Achaia (Athens, Delphi, Sparta). Spends the winter in Samos. Agrippa marries Julia, travels to Gallia Comata.	17

<i>Dates (BCE)</i>	<i>Events</i>	<i>Drusus' Age</i>
20	Augustus' party travels to Syria (Sidon, Tyre). Livia meets Herodes of Judaea. Augustus negotiates treaty with Parthia. Tiberius in Armenia receives the legionary standards lost to the Parthians at Carrhae (53 BCE). Tiberius marries Vipsania Agrippina. Gaius born to Agrippa and Julia. Augustus' party spends the winter in Samos; meets embassies from Ethiopia and India; and meets poet Publius Vergilius Maro (Vergil) at Megara.	18
19	Augustus' party returns to Rome. Tiberius and Drusus permitted to stand for public office 5 years before the legal qualification date. Drusus probably assumes a minor magisterial office in Rome.	
September 26	Vergil dies in Brundisium. Augustus back in Rome receives consular powers. Agrippa defeats Iberian tribes, granted triumphal honours, which he declines.	
December 5	Drusus appointed <i>quaestor</i> .	19
18	Senate renews Augustus' <i>imperium maius</i> for another five years; renews Agrippa's <i>imperium</i> for five years and <i>tribunicia potestas</i> . Drusus marries Antonia Minor, daughter of Antonius and Octavia.	20
17	Lucius born to Julia: Augustus adopts both Gaius and Lucius. Celebration of the <i>Ludi Saeculares</i> .	
September 7	Marcus Lollius defeated by an alliance of Tencteri, Sugambri and Uspetes, led by warlord Maelo, which invades Belgica and takes the eagle standard of <i>Legio V Alaudae</i> .	21
16	Tiberius <i>praetor</i> , appointed <i>legatus Augusti pro praetore</i> of Gallia Comata and Belgica.	
May 21	Drusus' son Nero Claudius Drusus (future Germanicus) born in Rome (?). Drusus and Tiberius organize <i>ludi</i> for Augustus. Augustus and Tiberius travel to Gallia Comata, stay in Lugdunum. Agrippa in Syria.	22
15	Augustus reorganises the provinces of the Tres Galliae (?). <i>Procurator</i> Licinius affair (?) Drusus leads campaign against the Raeti via the Reschen Pass. For defeating the Raeti, Drusus made <i>praetor</i> . Raeti continue attacks in Tres Galliae: Drusus, joined by Tiberius with forces from Lugdunum, retaliates.	
August 1	Fall of <i>oppidum</i> of Cernauni. Romans defeat the Raeti and Vindelici and annexe Kingdom of Noricum. Alpine nations provide auxiliary troops to Rome. Military camps established at Basle, Dangsterten, Kempten (Allgäu), Oberwinterthur and Vindonissa. Augusta Vindelicorum founded.	23

<i>Dates (BC)</i>	<i>Events</i>	<i>Drusus' Age</i>
14-9 14	Drusus governor of Tres Galliae. Augustus in Gallia Comata. Drusus appointed <i>legatus Augusti pro praetore</i> of Tres Galliae. Drusus relocates family to Lugdunum. Drusus subdues the Comati (?). Alpes Maritimae subjugated, made a prefecture. Drusus befriends the Batavi. Begins preparations for the German War. Establishes military camps at Argentorate, Asciburgium, Batavodurum, Bonna, Fectio, Mogontiacum and Vetera. Work begins on building a canal system (<i>fossa Drusiana</i>).	
October 7	Tiberius' son Nero Claudius Drusus (Drusus the Younger) born in Rome (?).	24
13	Tiberius consul (1). Augustus returns to Rome.	
July 13	Senate votes to erect <i>Ara Pacis</i> in Rome. Agrippa suppresses rebellion in Pannonia. Drusus' daughter Livia Iulia (Livilla) born in Lugdunum (?). Census in Tres Galliae (?).	25
12-9 12	Drusus campaigns in Germania Magna. Tiberius betrothed to Julia. Tiberius goes to Illyricum. Agrippa dies in Campania.	
March	Lepidus dies: Augustus succeeds him as <i>pontifex maximus</i> . Drusus foils a rebellion in Tres Galliae. Drusus launches an attack from Batavodurum against the Sugambri, Tencteri and Usipetes.	
August ?	Consecration of Altar of <i>Roma et Augustus</i> at Condate, Lugdunum. Drusus takes fleet across Lacus Flevo. Negotiates treaties with the Cananefates, Chauci and Frisii. Navigates the Ems River and defeats the Bructeri in a river battle. On the return journey fleet is marooned on the Dutch coast, but rescued by the Frisii. Drusus returns to Lugdunum, spends winter in Rome. Drusus <i>praetor urbanus</i> .	26
11	Drusus and Tiberius receive proconsular <i>imperium</i> . Drusus returns to Tres Galliae. Drusus launches campaign from Vetera along the Lippe River. Military camps established at Haltern (Annaberg), Holsterhausen, Lorenzberg, Oberaden and Oberhausen. Drusus engages the Cherusci, Marsi and Usipetes. Reaches the Visurgis River. Narrowly avoids defeat at Battle of Arballo at hands of Cherusci. Drusus acclaimed <i>Imperator</i> by his troops (assumed by Augustus). Drusus returns to Lugdunum, spends the winter in Rome. Drusus granted an <i>ovation</i> with triumphal insignia.	
November ?	Octavia dies: Drusus gives the funeral oration from the <i>rostrum</i> in the Forum Romanum.	27

<i>Dates (BCE)</i>	<i>Events</i>	<i>Drusus' Age</i>
10	Drusus returns to Lugdunum. Launches new phase of campaign from Mogontiacum. Defeats the Charri and Marcomanni. Military camps established at Antunnaum, Beckinghausen, Hedemünden, Rödgen and Speyer. Drusus returns to Lugdunum. Augustus and Tiberius return to Lugdunum.	
<i>August 1</i>	Birth of Drusus' son, Tiberius Claudius Nero (future emperor Claudius), in Lugdunum. Dedication of Altar of <i>Roma et Augustus</i> in Lugdunum before an assembly of the Gallic tribal leaders. Drusus returns to Rome, probably with Augustus and Tiberius. Drusus granted limited triumphal honours.	28
<i>9 January 1</i> <i>January 30</i>	Drusus elected consul with Titus Quinctius Crispinus. Dedication of <i>Ara Pacis</i> in Rome. Drusus dedicates a Temple of Augustus at Andemanno. Military camp established at Confluentes. Drusus launches second campaign from Mogontiacum. Drusus reaches the Elbe River. Spooked by dream of a Germanic ghoul. Erects an altar on the banks of the Elbe River, turns back to the Rhine. Troops witness the Perseids. Drusus falls from his horse in an accident.	
<i>mid-August ?</i>	Tiberius rides 200 miles in 24 hours by vehicle from Ticinum to join Drusus.	
<i>end-September?</i>	30 days after the accident, Drusus dies. Drusus' body carried to Ticinum, met by Augustus and Livia, and on to Rome for state funeral. Body is buried in Augustus' Mausoleum. Senate votes Drusus and his male descendants the <i>agnomen</i> Germanicus and erect statues and a triumphal arch over the <i>via Appia</i> . Rhine legions erect the <i>Tumulus</i> (Cenotaph) honouring Drusus (Eichelstein) in Mogontiacum.	29
8	Tiberius in Germania Magna, negotiates a peace settlement with all Germanic tribes. Maelo surrenders, Sugambri relocate to region around Vetera, renamed Cugerni and supply auxiliary cavalry to Rome. Cottius, made <i>praefectus</i> of 12 Alpine nations, erects an arch to Augustus in Segusio.	
7	<i>Tropeum Alpium</i> (La Turbie) erected marking the complete subjugation of the Alps. Tiberius celebrates <i>ovation</i> in Rome for his victory in Germania Magna.	

List of Illustrations

Plates

1. Bust of Augustus, Ma1247 (MR 426) in the Louvre, Paris. (© Marie-Lan Nguyen/Wikimedia Commons)
2. Bust of Livia Drusilla, Ma1233 in the Louvre, Paris. (© Marie-Lan Nguyen/Wikimedia Commons)
3. Marble bust of Tiberius from Veies, Charamonti in the Vatican Museum, Vatican City. (© Marie-Lan Nguyen/Wikimedia Commons)
4. Bust of veiled Nero Claudius Drusus as a boy. MFA inv. 88.346 in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. (© Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)
5. Bust of Nero Claudius Drusus, A.1148, Collection L. Somzée, in the Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels. (© Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels)
6. Bust of Antonia Minor as Hera, Inv. 8631 in the Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Altemps, Rome. (© Marie-Lan Nguyen/Wikimedia Commons)
7. Drusus and Antonia Minor on the Ara Pacis, Rome. (By permission of Sovrintendenza ai Beni Culturale del Comune di Roma-Museo dell'Ara Pacis)
8. *Principales* of the Roman army. (Courtesy of The Ermine Street Guard)
9. *Legionarius* in chain mail in attack stance with Mainz-type *gladius* unsheathed. (Courtesy of The Ermine Street Guard)
10. *Legionarius* of the Roman army in scale armour at the beginning of the first century CE. (Courtesy of The Ermine Street Guard)
11. 'Marius' mule'. (Courtesy of The Ermine Street Guard)
12. *Legionarius* of the Roman army in articulated plate armour at the close of the first century CE. (Courtesy of The Ermine Street Guard)
13. Armour of a high-ranking Roman officer depicted in a marble trophy from the Gardens of Sallust, close of the first century BCE. MC 42 in the Capitoline Museums, Rome. (© Marie-Lan Nguyen/Wikimedia Commons)
14. Iron Age Celtic Warriors at the close of the first century BCE. (Courtesy of Historische Darstellungsgruppe München e.V.)
15. Iron Age Celtic Warrior at the close of the first century BCE.

- (Courtesy of Historische Darstellungsgruppe München e.V.)
16. Germanic warrior at the start of the first century CE. (Courtesy of Robert Brosch and Chasuari)
 17. View of Val di Susa from San Michele. (© Vito James Blomo)
 18. View of Trento (Tridentum) in the Adige River Valley from Cros di Maranza, Italy. (© Haneburger C./Wikimedia Commons)
 19. View of the Lechtal Alps at Musau, Tyrol, Austria. (© Kai Brühne/Wikimedia Commons)
 20. View of *Municipium* Virunum at Magdalensburg, Austria with Zollfeld and the Ulrichsberg in the background. (© Johann Jaritz/Wikimedia Commons)
 21. View of the *Praetorium* and Odeon, Lyon (Lugdunum), France. (© Vincent Bloch/Wikimedia Commons)
 22. *Denarius* showing Drusus and Tiberius offering olive branches to Augustus. (Author's collection. © P. Lindsay Powell. Photo Michael V. Craton)
 23. *Dupondius/semis* of Tiberius showing the Altar to *Roma et Augustus*, Lugdunum. (Author's collection. © P. Lindsay Powell. Photo Michael V. Craton)
 24. Scene XXVI from Trajan's Column. (Conrad Cichorius/Wikimedia Commons)
 25. Reconstructed Roman troop transport "Victoria" on the Gose Elbe River, filmed for the documentary *Der Limes: Grenzwall gegen die Barbaren* for ZDF in association with the special exhibition "Imperium Konflikt Mythos. 2000 Jahre Varusschlacht". (© agenda/Wolfgang Huppertz)
 26. View of Coast of Wadden Sea, The Netherlands. (© Dirk Ingo Franke/ Wikimedia Commons)
 27. *Denarius* minted by L. Caninius Gallus. (Author's collection. © P. Lindsay Powell. Photo Michael V. Craton)
 28. View of Lippe River in Lünen, North Rhine Westfalia, Germany. (© Wolfgang Hunscher/Wikimedia Commons)
 29. View of Elbe River at Drethem, Lower Saxony, Germany. (© Christian Fischer/Wikimedia Commons)
 30. View of forest in autumn in east North Rhein Westfalia, Germany. (© Nikater/ Wikimedia Commons)
 31. Bust of Nero Claudius Drusus. Ma3515 in the Louvre, Paris. (© Marie-Lan Nguyen/Wikimedia Commons)
 32. Bust of Germanicus in the Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme. (© Marie-Lan Nguyen/Wikimedia Commons)
 33. Bust of Claudius from Lavinium, Inv. 243 in the Vatican Museum, Vatican City. (© Marie-Lan Nguyen/Wikimedia Commons)

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34. *Denarius* minted by P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus. (Author's collection. © P. Lindsay Powell. Photo Michael V. Craton)
35. *Denarius* minted by Claudius showing Drusus and German weapons. (Author's collection. © P. Lindsay Powell. Photo Michael V. Craton)
36. *Sestertius* minted by Claudius showing Drusus, Claudius seated on Germanic arms. (Author's collection. © P. Lindsay Powell. Photo Michael V. Craton)
37. *Denarius* minted by Claudius showing Drusus and the triumphal arch. (Author's collection. © P. Lindsay Powell. Photo Michael V. Craton)
38. *Denarius* minted by Claudius showing Drusus and the triumphal arch. (Author's collection. © P. Lindsay Powell. Photo Michael V. Craton)
39. *Dupondius* minted by Claudius showing Drusus and the triumphal arch. (Author's collection. © P. Lindsay Powell. Photo Michael V. Craton)
40. Ruins of Drusus' *tumulus* in Mainz (Mogontiacum), Germany. (© Markus Schweiss/Wikimedia Commons)
41. Stamp issued on 10 May 1962 by Deutsche Bundespost celebrating the 2,000th anniversary of the foundation of Mainz showing the Drususstein.
42. Drusus presents barbarian people to the *princeps* depicted on the 'Augustus Cup' from Boscoreale. Taken prior to it being damaged. Bj2366 in the Louvre (A. Héron de Villefosse, *Monuments et Mémoires*, Fondation Eugène Piot, 1899)

Figures

1. Inscription from the milestone of the *via Claudia Augusta*. (Drawn by the author)
2. Ballista bolt of *Legio XIX* from Döttenbichl, Oberammergau. (Drawn by the author)
3. Reconstruction of troop transport based on Mainz 1. (Courtesy of Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Museum für Antike Schifffahrt Mainz)
4. Altar to *Roma et Augustus*, Lugdunum. (Reconstruction by the author based on numismatic and archaeological evidence)
5. Augustus' Mausoleum, Rome. (Reconstruction by the author after G. Gatti and H. von Hesburg)
6. Drusus' Arch, Rome. (Reconstruction by the author based on coin evidence)
7. Drusus' Cenotaph in Mainz, Germany. (Reconstruction by the

author after H.G. Frenz)

8. 'Der Aichelstein' by Matthäus Merian der Ältere in *Topographia Archiepiscopatum Moguntinensis, Trevirensis et Coloniensis*, 1646. (Wikimedia Commons)
9. 'Monumentum Drusi' in Johann Friedrich Franz Lehne's *Comparaison du plan de l'ancien Mogontiacum avec la situation actuelle de la ville de Mayence* of 1809, published 1836–1839. (Wikimedia Commons)
10. Nero Claudius Drusus as envisaged by Dr August Benedict Wilhelm in *Die Feldzüge des Nero Claudius Drusus in nördlichen Deutschland*, May 1826.

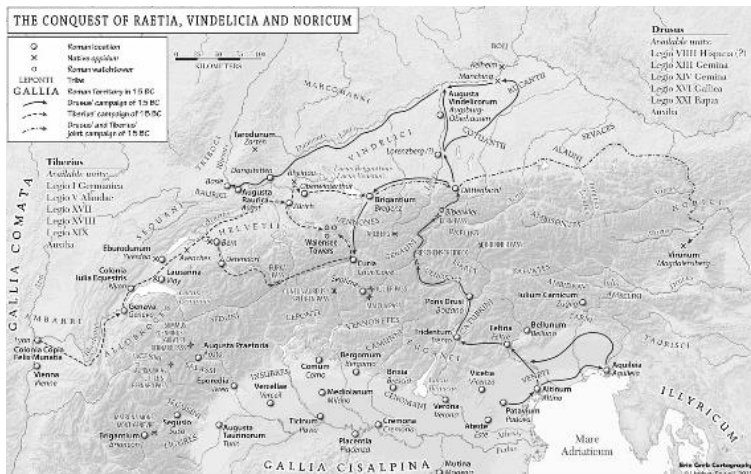
Maps and Plans

List of Maps and Plans

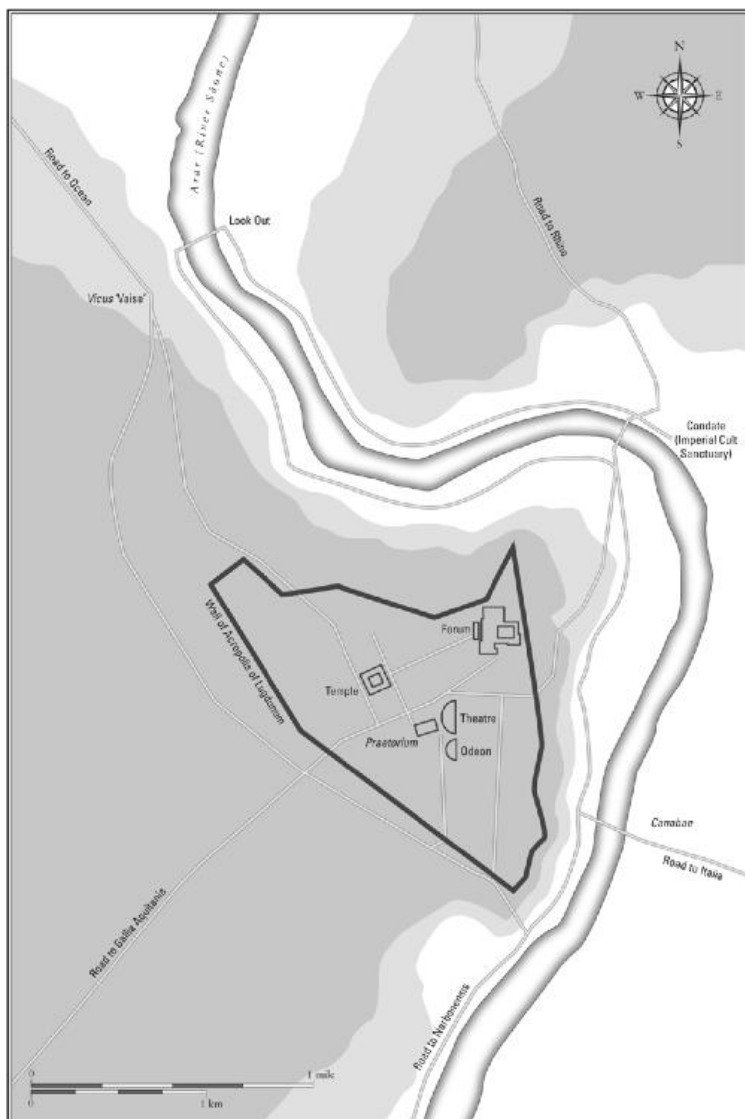
1. Map of the Roman Empire 17–9 BCE. (© Carlos de la Rocha)
2. Route and elevation profile of *via Claudia Augusta*. (Drawn by the author)
3. Map of military operations in Raetia and Noricum 15 BCE. (© Lindsay Powell)
4. Map of Colonia Copia Felix Munatia Lugdunum.
5. Map of the world according the M. Vipsanius Agrippa.
6. Map of military operations in Magna Germania 12 BCE. (© Carlos de la Rocha)
7. Map of military operations in Magna Germania 11 BCE. (© Carlos de la Rocha)
8. Ground plan of Oberaden Roman Fortress, 11 BCE–9 CE.
9. Map of military operations in Magna Germania 10 BCE. (© Carlos de la Rocha)
10. Ground plan of the federal sanctuary at Lugdunum. (Drawn by the author after A. Audin)
11. Map of military operations in Magna Germania 9 BCE. (© Carlos de la Rocha)
12. Map of Mogontiacum 1st century BCE–5th century CE.



1. Map of the Roman Empire 16–9 BCE. (© Carlos de la Rocha)



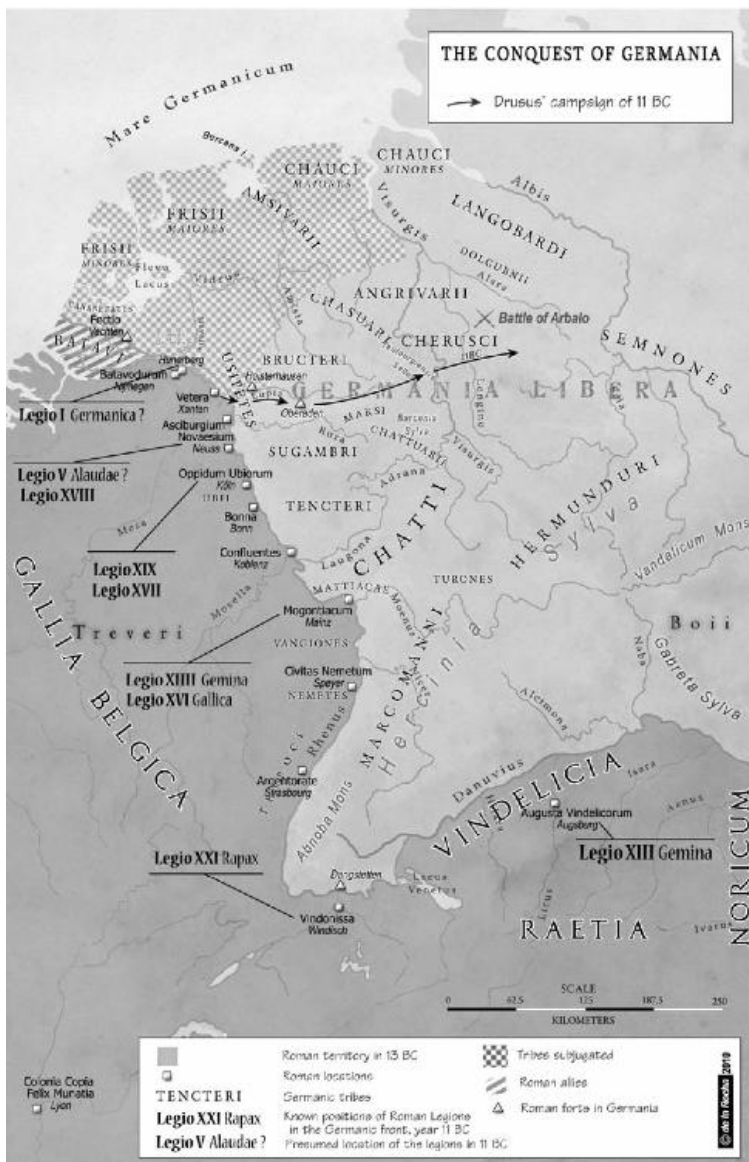
3. Map of military operations in Raetia and Noricum 15 BCE. (© Lindsay Powell)



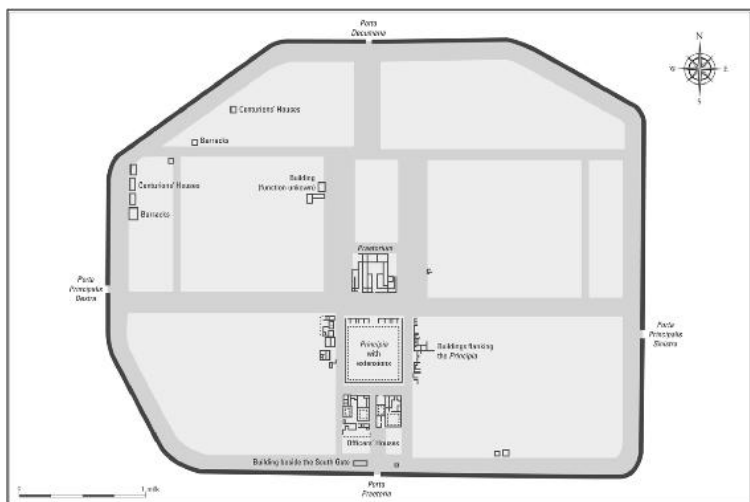
4. Map of Colonia Copia Felix Munatia Lugdunum.



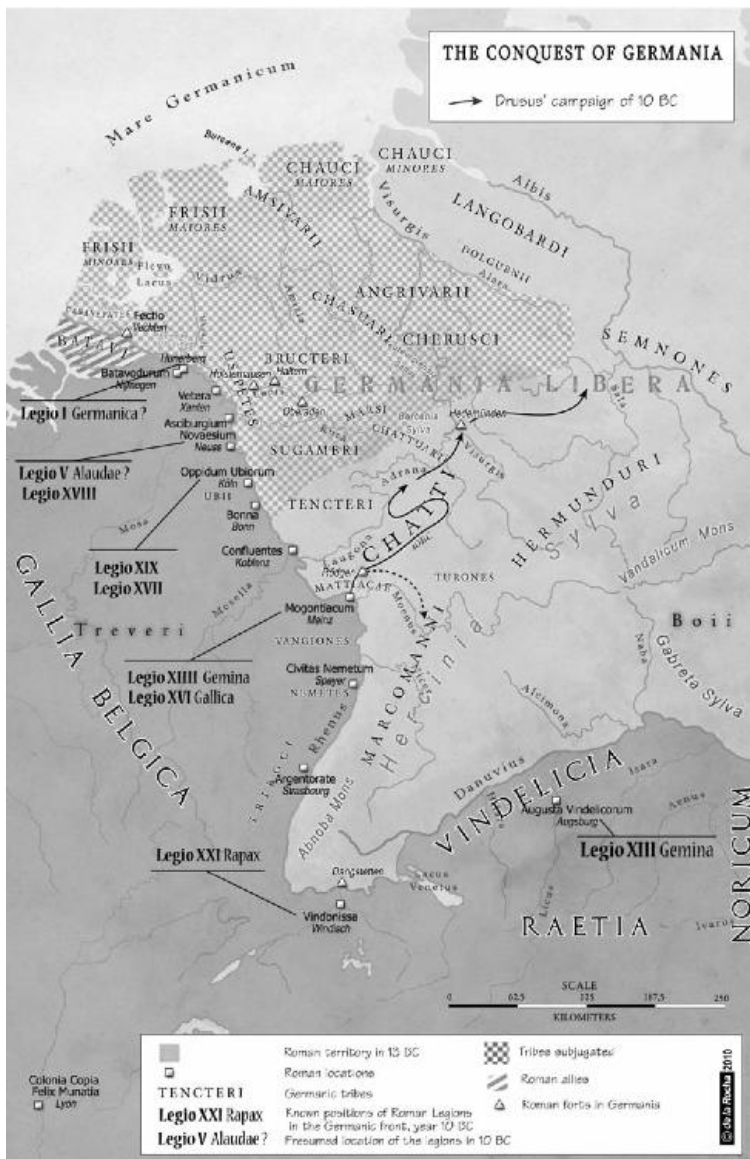
6. Map of military operations in Magna Germania 12 BCE. (© Carlos de la Rocha)



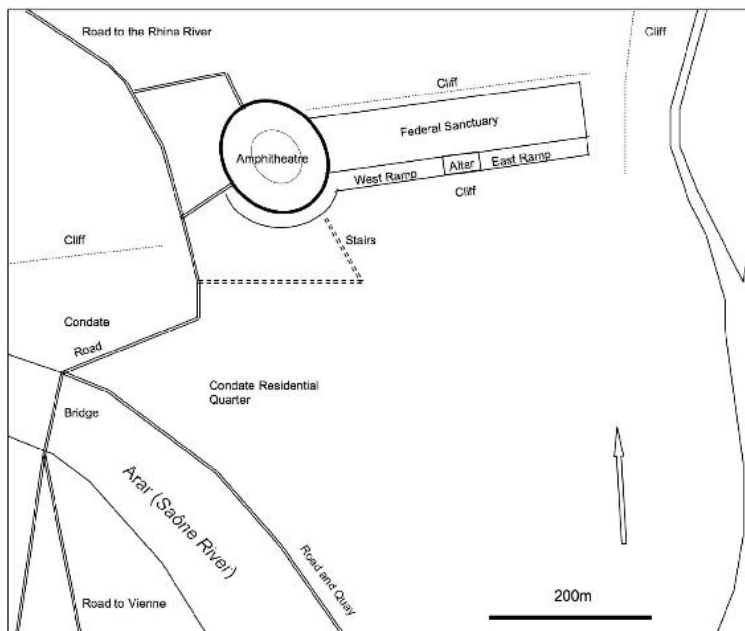
7. Map of military operations in Magna Germania 11 BCE. (© Carlos de la Rocha)



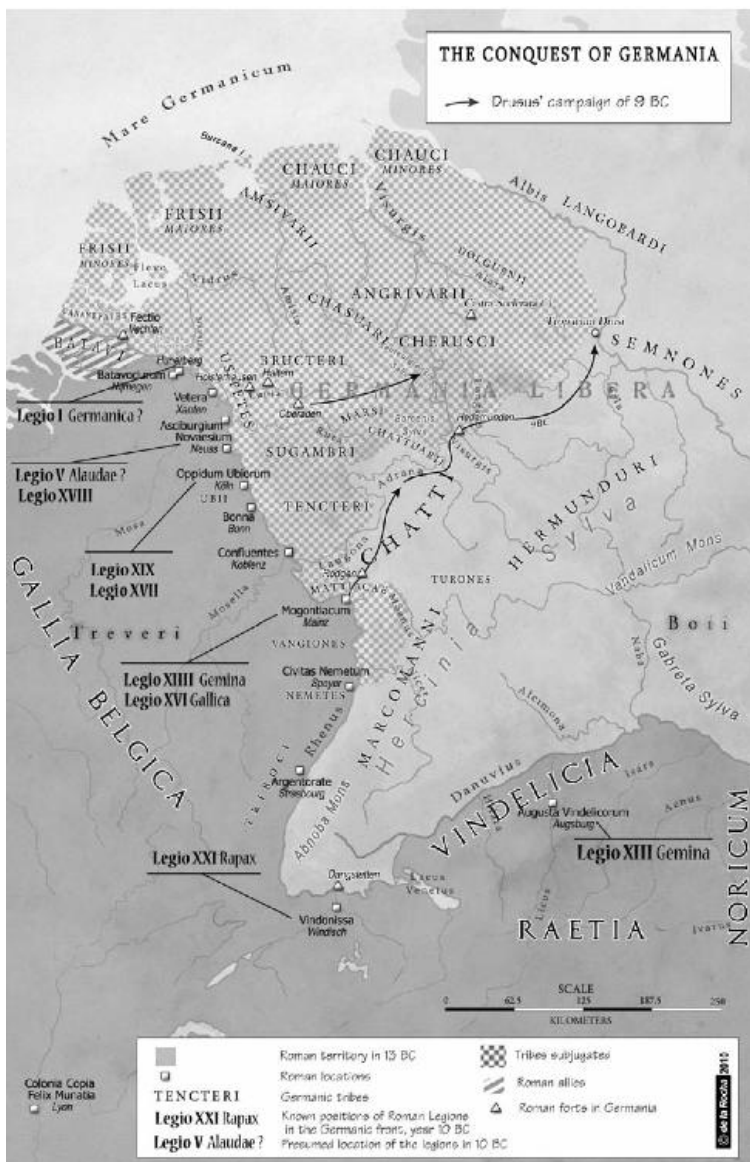
8. Ground plan of Oberaden Roman Fortress, 11 BCE–9 CE.



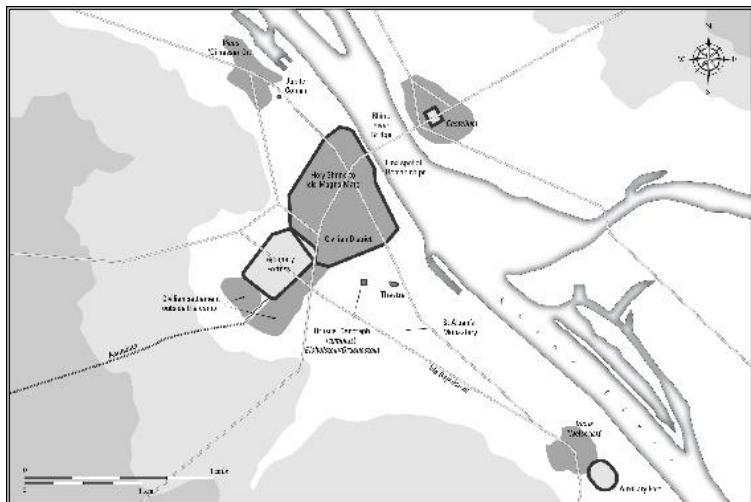
9. Map of military operations in Magna Germania 10 BCE. (© Carlos de la Rocha)



10. Ground plan of the federal sanctuary at Lugdunum. (Drawn by the author after A. Audin)



11. Map of military operations in Magna Germania 9 BCE. (© Carlos de la Rocha)



12. Map of Mogontiacum 1st century BCE–5th century CE.

Roman Names

M. Caelius T. f. Lemonia Bononia

This is the official name of a centurion of *legio* XVIII preserved on an inscription now in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Bonn, Germany (*CIL* XIII 8648; *AE* 1952). His name embodies the elements of Roman naming practice. It translates as ‘Marcus Caelius, son of Titus, of the voting tribe of Lemonia, from Bononia’. Marcus is his forename (*praenomen*) by which his family and close friends called him. In inscriptions, public records and narrative texts, it was abbreviated. The standard abbreviations for common *praenomina* were:

A.	Aulus
Ap.	Appius
C. or G.	Caius or Gaius
Cn. or Gn.	Cnaeus or Gnaeus
D.	Decimus
L.	Lucius
M.	Marcus
Mam.	Mamius
M’.	Manius
P	Publius
Q	Quintus
Ser	Servius
Sex	Sextus
Sp.	Spurius
T.	Titus
Ti.	Tiberius

Caelius is his clan or family name (*nomen gentriculum*). Many of these clans such as the Claudia and Cornelia were famous old families of Rome with proud traditions. Then follows the filiation or patronymic of the father’s *praenomen*, whose full name would have been Titus Caelius. As a Roman citizen his family was associated with one of 35 voting tribes: in elections Caelius voted with the Lemonian tribe. The final element is the place of his birth (*origo*) or domicile (*domus*), which is in this case Bononia, modern Bologna in Italy. Together these distinguished this particular Marcus Caelius from another bearing the same name. To clearly tell men apart with the same

name, with their warped sense of humour, Romans often adopted a third nickname (*cognomen*) such as Rufus 'red haired', Paulus 'shorty' or Brutus 'stupid'. A man who had achieved a great victory in battle might be granted use of an honorific title (*agnomen*) such as Africanus 'the African' or Britannicus 'the Briton' indicating the theatre of war in which it was won.

Preface

Behind many street names there is a story. One such is *Drususgasse*, which means ‘Drusus Alley’. This otherwise rather ordinary quiet treelined street in Cologne, Germany, between Kolpingplatz and An der Rechtschule, is a short walk from the great Kölner Dom, the city’s gothic cathedral, and the Römisch-Germanisches Museum, which houses an astonishing collection of Roman artifacts recovered from the ground below the modern city. The curious fact is that this side street is named after this particular Roman. Cologne is not unique. His name is also preserved in several other *Drususstraßen* in towns and cities across modern Germany. So who is this Drusus? The man in question is Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus, known to history as Drusus the Elder.

The name Drusus the Elder conjures up the image of a man in his sixties or seventies, with thinning grey hair, an aquiline nose and battle scars borne of years of hard campaigning. He was certainly a military man, and he started young. When he was ordered by his stepfather Augustus to take up arms and command an army he was just 23 years old. Over the next year, aided by his brother (and the future Emperor) Tiberius, he subjugated the people living in the mountain valleys of the central-eastern Alps. He was a builder too and oversaw the largest construction of military infrastructure of the time – and in the process he founded many of the places that are today the great cities along the River Rhine. He was a seafaring explorer who took his fellow countrymen further north than any Roman had gone before. He was also a diplomat and made treaty allies of many of the tribes across the Rhine from the northwestern shore of Europe to the Elbe River – and in so doing shaped the destiny of Europe. He was the husband to one of the most beautiful women of his day, Antonia, the daughter of M. Antonius. He was a family man too and fathered the golden boy Germanicus, the feisty Livia Iulia and the remarkable Claudius who would become emperor – among the better fruit borne of this knotty branch of the Julio-Claudian family tree. Yet when he died he was just 29 years old – not a grey haired old man, but a dashing, popular and handsome twenty-something in the prime years of his life.

For many Romans he was a hero, their equivalent of Alexander the Great. Monuments and statues were erected to honour him. Augustus wrote a biography of him. The Emperor Claudius idolised him and minted coins with his profile showing him as the eternally youthful ‘conqueror of Germania’. The prolific Pliny the Elder also wrote an extensive account of Drusus’ military exploits in the lands north of the Rhine. Yet today he is hardly known.

How could a man who was regarded as an important figure to the Romans so completely slip out of the popular memory? How and why did Augustus delegate to an inexperienced man in his mid-twenties a centerpiece of his imperial plan? How did someone so young undertake such a risky mission – and did he succeed? And what remains of his legacy today? As I went in search of answers to these questions, I was astonished to find that there was no single volume account of the life of Nero Claudius Drusus. There are books on his stepfather Augustus, his mother Livia Drusilla, his brother Tiberius, his stepsister Julia and his son Claudius, even his grandchildren Gaius (Caligula) and Agrippina, but no one had described the life of Drusus. He is in the history books but all too often as a bit player in Augustus’ grand imperial ambitions, or worse, a passing figure on the road to the disaster at Teutoburg Forest. Tellers of history can often be myopic focusing on a few individuals when the wider context reveals others to have contributed greatly and whose achievements are just as worthy of being reported. Drusus the Elder has for too long been consigned to obscurity. *Eager for Glory* restores the name and reputation of the young Roman hero for a new generation. This is the book on Drusus the Elder I had hoped to find.

Like so many personalities from the Ancient World, Drusus is a shadowy figure. The biography that Augustus wrote is entirely lost to us – more is the pity because it was certainly a memoir and would have uniquely recounted moments the affectionate stepfather shared with his stepson. Pliny the Elder’s history is also wholly lost. He had served three tours of duty in at least two of the regions entered by Drusus and he may have had access to original documents and sites and even heard tales from sons of old soldiers who served with him. What we have is a jigsaw puzzle of fragments written by mostly later historians. Events in Drusus’ life are described by Cassius Dio, Florus, Horace, Livy, Suetonius, Valerius Maximus, Velleius Paterculus and others borrowing from earlier accounts. Fortunately enough information survives that a reasonably accurate timeline can be

reconstructed and a good deal about the nature and personality of the man can be deduced.

This book is a journey in which we follow the footsteps of the young prince as he grows up. As a relative of Augustus he had a privileged life, but it was very far from an idle one. Drusus' life was shaped by politics and by war. He became part of the apparatus of the state earlier than most thanks to his stepfather, but he scaled the highest heights of the political power structure only after he had demonstrated competence in government and military service. As a soldier, his life was inextricably tied up with wars of conquest – first in and around the Alps, and later in the lands north of the Rhine, which the Romans called Magna Germania (which we today call Germany and The Netherlands) and was largely unknown to them. Thus, Drusus' conquest of Germania is also an adventure story. The Romans' early knowledge of the lands and peoples of Germania was as much uninformed by stereotype and prejudice as it was informed by poor military intelligence and imprecise cartography. Many of the troops heading into what was for them uncharted territory must have been terrified, expecting to encounter men no better than brute savages living in dank swamps and dark forests, and fearsome monsters straight out of legends they had heard as boys.

Drusus' military expedition is remarkable for the fact that he led his men into unexplored territory by sea and on land without the aid of devices any modern army commander would expect to have at his disposal – good maps, radio communications, and air reconnaissance. Like Alexander and Iulius Caesar before him, he relied on ground intelligence from allies and captives, updated by reports from scouts, and a soldier's instinct for terrain and learning the habits of his enemy. Communications in Drusus' time were the best of the day but nevertheless remarkably poor by modern standards. The Romans' genius was recognising the fact and delegating decision-making authority. A commander could not wait for orders from higher up: he had to make decisions on the spot. In this respect, Drusus was a commander soldiers looked up to and were inspired by. He led his men from the front with astonishing acts of derring-do. Yet this boldness also verged on the reckless and on more than one occasion he put not only himself but his men at unnecessary risk.

Eager for Glory is structured to follow the life of Drusus chronologically and to draw out key themes that shaped it:

Chapter 1: Drusus the Youth, covering the years 38–18 BCE, describes the question of his paternity, relationships with his

mother, brother and Augustus; the pressures of living up to the formidable reputation of the *gens Claudia*; his early career in public office; and his marriage to Antonia Minor. His life is set against the background of civil war, the rivalry of Augustus and Marcus Antonius and the rise of the imperial family.

Chapter 2: Drusus the Soldier, covering the years 17–15 BCE, describes Drusus' first military command during the Raetian and Norican Wars. Augustus' imperial strategy in the north, the structure and deployment of the Roman army, as well as the arms and equipment of both Roman and Celtic opponents, are explained.

Chapter 3: Drusus the Builder, covering the years 14–13 BCE, describes his life as a young father and how Drusus approached his governorship of Tres Galliae. During this period he oversaw the massive infrastructure build-out along the Rhine – including a canal – as well as use of the Batavi as allies, in preparation for the German Wars.

Chapter 4: Drusus the Explorer, covering the year 12 BCE, describes how Drusus discovered and defused a rebellion in Tres Galliae and launched the German War with an amphibious expedition and land campaign into what was then uncharted territory. The use of a diplomatic strategy executed through treaties with new allies, particularly the Chauci and Frisii, and use of client states, is explained.

Chapter 5: Drusus the Commander, covering the years 11–10 BCE, describes how Drusus' eagerness for glory drove his men to near catastrophe at the Battle of Arbalo. The Germanic tribes, their warriors and their fighting techniques are described, in particular the Chatti, Cherusci and Sugambri.

Chapter 6: Drusus the Consul, in which he reaches the highest office of the political career ladder in 9 BCE, but returns to the front to continue the war. The march to the Elbe River and events leading to, and immediately following, his death are detailed.

Chapter 7: Drusus the Hero describes the cortège's journey from Germania to Rome and the funeral in the city. How Augustus and his successors created and exploited the legend of Drusus as a rôle model and as 'Conqueror of Germania' for their own ends is examined.

The book ends with an assessment of the man and what remains of his legacy today. Finally, for the reader who is inspired to

retrace the campaigns of Drusus the Elder – it would certainly make for a wonderful series of vacation trips – I have included a gazetteer of places and museums.

In respect of dates, I have used the convention ‘BCE’ (Before the Common Era) instead of BC, and ‘CE’ (Common Era) for AD. The events in Drusus’ life described in this book occur in the BCE epoch.

Romans generally had two names, a personal name (*praenomen*) and a family or clan name (*nomen gentriculum*), but from the later days of the Republic, it was becoming common to have three by adding a nickname (*cognomen*). Victorious commanders in battle might also be granted a honorific title (*agnomen*). Modern historians usually call Romans by their *cognomina* or *agnomina*, the last of the three or more names, hence Caesar for G. Iulius Caesar, or Augustus for G. Iulius Caesar Augustus. (I have used Iulius for Julius throughout.) In some cases the Latin name has mutated into an Anglicism, such as Livy for Livius or Pliny for Plinius. For the names of ancient historians, I use the modern form, but for the protagonists in the story I retain the Latin form, hence M. Antonius rather than Mark Antony, and the original Greek form Kleopatra for Cleopatra.

This is a good place to point out that the ‘Elder’ in Drusus’ name is actually another way of saying ‘senior’, to distinguish him from the other Drusus (Drusus the Younger), who was his nephew – Tiberius named his son after his illustrious brother in his honour. To distinguish between the two, historians also refer to Drusus the Elder as Drusus I, Drusus *Maiores*, Drusus Senior, Nero Drusus, Claudius Drusus and Drusus Germanicus. To complicate matters, Drusus the Elder’s oldest son bore the same name as his father, but thankfully he is usually referred to as just Germanicus. The reader will be forgiven for thinking that studying the house of Augustus can quickly become very confusing.

Where a place has a Latin name I prefer to use it since the modern name creates a false impression of the scale and feel of the ancient place, hence Oppidum Ubiorum rather than Cologne, which at this time more likely looked like a town of the American Wild West. The exceptions are Athens and Rome, because to use Athenae and Roma would be unnecessarily pedantic; and places for which the ancient name is not known, in which case I use the modern name unless there is a well-known Anglicism. I have listed ancient and modern place names on pages 156–158 for convenience.

The names and places used by the indigenous, so-called Germanic, peoples who sided with or fought against the Romans are only known to us through Greek and Latin writings. A few tribal chieftains and kings are known but only by Romanised names. We do not know what Maelo of the Sugambri nation was called in his own language, or Marboduus of the Marcomanni. Few Germanic place names survive, though intriguingly the geographer Ptolemy lists several and even offers map co-ordinates for them. While attempts have been made to identify their precise locations, they are at best tentative.

The Latin version is used for Roman officer ranks, arms, equipment and battle formations throughout the text since there is often no modern equivalent. Definitions of the terms are listed in the Glossary.

The job of a biographer is to present as accurate and unbiased an account of his subject's life as possible, but also to make the story compelling reading. Establishing the facts through research is an intellectually fun-filled journey but in the end the writing itself is a lonely endeavour with the inner voice the constant and sternest critic. May you, dear reader, find my telling of his story compelling.

To the shades of Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus *Imperator* I present this book: I hope it meets *your* expectations. *Votum sovīt libens merito.*

Lindsay Powell
Memorial Day
May 2010
Austin, Texas

Augustus ... extolled him in a speech to the people, to that degree, that he prayed the gods "to make his Caesars like him, and to grant himself as honourable an exit out of this world as they had given him".

Augustus' eulogy at the funeral of Nero Claudius Drusus reported by Suetonius in *Lives of the Caesars*, *Claudius* 1.5.

Chapter 1

Drusus the Youth

38–18 BCE

A Question of Paternity

Three months before the baby emerged naked, kicking and bawling into the world, rumours were rife about its parentage. People openly speculated that the child was not the fruit of the union of Ti. Claudius Nero and his wife Livia Drusilla, who, moreover were cousins.¹ Chatterboxes delighted in spreading slanderous gossip that the father was in fact G. Iulius Caesar Octavianus (plate 1), the adopted heir and avenger of the great dictator. Certainly Octavianus had been courting Livia for months and he did not refute the allegation. In fact he positively sought the attention. The adopted son of Caesar laid on a lavish rite-of-passage celebration, quite possibly on his birthday on 23 September 39 BCE, to mark the shaving of his beard in a ceremony called *depositio barbae*. At 25 years old he had long since come of age but with the ceremony he was making a public declaration that he “was already falling in love with Livia,” writes the Roman historian Cassius Dio, and by presenting a smooth chin he clearly wanted to look his best for her.²

Livia Drusilla (Stemma Drusorum no. 9) was a formidable catch. At around 19 years of age, she was physically beautiful and sexually attractive to Octavianus who was a man infatuated by beautiful women and reputed to have a high sex drive (*cupidine formae*).³ The sources refer to Livia’s beauty (*forma*) and surviving portraits of her (plate 2) at different ages indeed show a finely proportioned face, full cheeks, long narrow nose, large eyes, small lips and coiffured hair in the restrained late ‘Republican style’. She also offered a suitor a powerful network of connections, which in Roman society defined the person socially and politically. As a member of the ancient Claudian clan (*gens Claudia*) a union with Livia brought prestige and nobility to a man of lesser status. Octavianus was regarded by members of the Roman élite as an upstart and as someone who had bought his position and influence. He had much to gain

from a union with the young Livia and decided to marry her.

It was not a kind age to respectable Roman women. M. Antonius was in Egypt cavorting with Queen Kleopatra even as his wife, Octavia (Octavianus' sister), was in Rome carrying his second child. Meanwhile Octavianus had been illicitly meeting Livia while he was still married to Scribonia, daughter of L. Scribonius Libo. In the shifting quicksand of Roman political family ties, a marriage could seem like a good idea at the time. Antonius had married Octavia in 40 BCE to bind his family closer to his colleague Octavianus in a moment of reconciliation following one of their frequent quarrels. Octavianus had married Scribonia in the same year to align his political interests more closely to those of Sex. Pompeius, whose fleets controlled the seas around Italy. Ironically Scribonia may even have introduced Livia to Octavianus. She was herself descended from a reputable and powerful family line, but complained of her rival's excessive power.⁴ Ten years or so older than Octavianus, Scribonia was also pregnant at the same time with his child. Divorce carried no stigma in Roman times, however, out of respect, Octavianus waited for his daughter Iulia to be born. Then later the same day he made arrangements for the divorce.⁵

Livia now filed her divorce from her husband. If he was outraged Livia's soon-to-be former husband Ti. Claudius Nero (probably the son of the man of the same name, Stemma Claudiorum no. 7) kept it to himself. He agreed to the divorce at Octavianus' request and without contest.⁶ The statesman and orator M. Tullius Cicero describes Nero as the sort of man who was effusive and over eager to show gratitude in return for a favour. Indeed, the Roman historian Velleius Paterculus infers an active role for the ex-husband in the ensuing betrothal ceremony, while Cassius Dio says Nero officiated at it, acting as a father would by offering his daughter's hand with his blessing.⁷ In one account, the engagement party, in equal measures a formal dinner and a burlesque, was a raucous and bawdy affair. As was fashionable at the time, pretty naked slave boys (*delicia*) made witty comments in risqué language directed at the guests. One *delicia* saw his moment to launch his humorous barb when he noticed Livia and Octavianus laying beside each other on the dining couch and Nero laying alongside a male guest on another. "What are you doing there, *domina*?" asked the naked jester. Pointing at Ti. Claudius Nero, he exclaimed, "your husband is over *here*!"⁸

The couple may have announced their engagement later in September or October that year. However, for a man to marry so

quickly after a divorce while the bride-to-be was still heavy with child was seen as indecently hasty and potentially illegal. Octavianus consulted the *collegium pontificum*, the authorities responsible for the state cult. Their duties included determining the dates of festivals and whether one day was lucky or unlucky (*dies fasti*, *dies nefasti*) for conducting legal business. They were also present at the most solemn form of marriage ceremony known as the *confarreatio*.⁹ The Twelve Tables of Roman Law were not clear on the matter of whether a free-born woman could remarry while pregnant when the male partner was still alive. It was a clear cut affirmative if the husband had died and a period of mourning of ten months had been allowed, but Nero was very definitely in rude health. The matter led many to question whether Octavianus or Nero was the actual father of the as yet unborn baby. Behind some of the gossip-mongering were sympathizers and supporters of M. Antonius, with whom Octavianus' relations were increasingly strained, and who sought to make life difficult for his rival. The *pontifices* pronounced that if there was any doubt about the conception, the marriage must be postponed, but if the conception was confirmed, the marriage could proceed. The *collegium* considered the evidence. Livia had been away from Rome with Nero for most of 39 BCE and did not return until the summer, so Octavianus could not be the father. The paternity of the baby was confirmed and the *pontifices* blessed the engagement. Nevertheless, the affair gave rise to a witty epigram that

Nine months for common births the fates decree;
But, for the great, reduce the term to three.¹⁰

Pregnant Livia moved into her new fiancée's house on the Palatine Hill. She brought with her a four-year old son, bearing the same name as his father, Ti. Claudius Nero (Stemma Drusorum no. 12, plate 3). He did not have long to wait for a sibling, for on a cold Roman winter's day, on Ides (13th) January 38 BCE, a baby boy was born (Stemma Drusorum no. 11).¹¹ Childbirth was a relatively public affair in which the midwife, not a doctor, performed the delivery with several female relatives attending, and the mother gave birth in the upright position in a special chair. The husband or male guests were never present. The newborn baby was swaddled and quickly handed to a wet nurse (*nutrix*) to take care of him. Hardly had she given birth than Livia had to turn her mind to her upcoming marriage with Octavianus. It is a hallmark of Livia Drusilla's toughness that she was able to go through the

marriage ceremony as a Roman bride so soon. Three days later, the couple were married in the traditional sacred rite of the *confarreatio* with all of its pomp and ceremony.

Under Roman law the child of a marriage belonged to the father (*paterfamilias*) and after divorce, remained in the household of the father. As the father was Nero, Octavianus immediately passed the new boy back into his care. The *paterfamilias*, however, had the right to deny life to a newborn by exposure. It was a way of limiting family numbers and fragmenting the family estate, since all children inherited equal shares. Nine days after the child's birth, on 25 January, a purification ceremony called the *lustratio* was held. The baby was not exposed and Nero accepted his new boy proudly and with open arms. He gave him his new name: Decimus Claudius Drusus.

Lessons from the Claudian Family Tree

The two Claudius brothers, Tiberius and Decimus, now stayed with their natural father, who had absolute right of control of his children in law (*patria potestas*), but were probably under the watchful eye and active involvement of their mother who lived nearby in a house on the Palatine Hill. It was a father's duty to educate his sons. Like all children of every age, much of their early learning was through supervised play, probably in the care of slaves or freedmen. Roman boys had many toys to play with: hobby-horses, hoops and tops, bricks with which to build toy houses, and wooden swords. They also played games with nuts and counters, or tossed coins, shouting 'Heads' or 'Ships', recalling the early images on the obverses and reverses of Rome's early coinage.¹²

A Roman boy received his formal education from the age of six or seven. Unlike Alexander the Great, for whom his father King Philip of Macedon procured the services of the renowned philosopher and scientist Aristotle, the two Claudius brothers likely had a more humble schooling at home under their father's supervision. He may have employed a *litterator*, an educated slave or freedman or Greek for the more tedious parts of their training. Rote learning was the norm for Roman students, who were required to learn to read and write by copying passages, for example of Homer in Latin or Greek, and the rudiments of arithmetic.

An upbringing at the Nero household involved learning about their Claudian ancestors and how each had lived his life in accordance with the Roman virtues. The Romans put great store

in their system of values that defined a man's character and underpinned his participation in society. The private citizen was expected to live by a personal code of ethics, among which were *clementia*, the virtue of mercy; *dignitas*, the virtue of taking pride in oneself; *firmitas*, the virtue of tenacity or strength of mind; *frugalitas*, living the simple life without being miserly; *gravitas*, the sense of seriousness and responsibility with which one approaches an issue; *honestas*, projecting a respectable image in society; *industria*, the value of working hard; *pietas*, the respect for the natural order of things including loyalty to one's country; *prudentia*, the foresight and wisdom gained from personal experience or that of others; *salubritas*, the belief in wholesomeness and cleanliness; *severitas*, the virtue of self control; and *veritas*, the belief in the value of truth over falsehood.

Citizens were also expected to live up to a set of public virtues among which were *aequitas*, the belief that acting fairly within government and with the people was right; *fides*, that a man should act in good faith in all dealings; *iustitia*, that citizens should expect justice through fair laws and treatment before them; *libertas*, the basic shared belief in freedom for all citizens; *nobilitas*, that a Roman should strive for excellence in all he did; and *virtus*, that a man should display courage, manliness, in difficult times and when facing difficult decisions – it is the root of the English word 'virtue'.

M. Tullius Cicero had written in a letter of reference for Nero, then probably in his thirties, that in his opinion there was no one among the noble families whom he regarded more highly than him, adding "he is the most grateful fellow in the world".¹³ Cicero gave an early assessment of him as "a young man of high birth, genius and disinterested conduct", urging one of his politically connected friends to "advance Nero in all possible ways", adding "with the man himself you will have made a splendid investment of your kindness".¹⁴ Nero's virtues, however, were those of being an optimist and a maverick. Despite being of such a noble lineage, when it came to making important life-changing choices he had the knack of choosing the wrong side. In 54 BCE he beat M. Antonius' brother to be the prosecutor at the impeachment trial of A. Gabinius, the governor of Syria who had overseen an incompetent and corrupt provincial administration – and lost the case. In 50 BCE he sought the hand of Cicero's daughter Tullia in marriage. Cicero had approved of his suit but not yet committed as he was away in Cilicia acting as governor. When he returned home he found

his wife had betrothed Tullia to another.¹⁵ Alas, it was too late for Nero. In 48 BCE Nero threw his weight behind G. Iulius Caesar, the rising star in Roman politics. He was appointed *quaestor* and commanded the fleet at Alexandria, and for his services he was assigned a senior priesthood in place of P. Cornelius Scipio.¹⁶ In 46 BCE Caesar authorized him to establish colonies in Gallia Narbonensis, and Arelate (Arles) and Narbo (Narbonne) owed their foundation to him. When Caesar was assassinated, however, Nero made a succession of bad choices. He switched to the side of the assassins and even proposed special honours for them. When the ‘liberators’ fortunes began to wane, he switched sides again and backed M. Antonius of the new triumvirate – the legal cartel of three men that officially ruled the Roman state comprising Antonius, M. Aemilius Lepidus and Octavianus.

In 42 BCE Nero was elected *praetor*, but refused to step down at the end of his term when a dispute broke out among the members of the triumvirate – and in doing so broke the law. In 40 BCE, after the assassins were defeated at Philippi, Octavianus began confiscating lands in Italy to repatriate his retiring veteran legionaries. Antonius’ brother and sister became champions for the dispossessed Italians and tried to foment rebellion against Octavianus. Nero chose to support the cause and moved his wife Livia and their young son to Perusia where the main opposition was to take place. However, Perusia fell and Tiberius and his family just managed to escape first to Praeneste, before arriving at Neapolis, where a slave revolt was being planned. That too collapsed in the face of Octavianus’ forces and Nero managed yet another daring escape, this time to Sicily. There he hoped to find a welcome from Sex. Pompeius, the brother in law of M. Libo, but he was disappointed. Nero and his family were ordered to pack their bags and they planned to head east to join M. Antonius. They found temporary assistance with one of Livia’s distant family members, L. Scribonius Libo, and the group sailed to Athens. Hardly had they landed when Antonius, who wanted nothing to do with Nero, quickly dispatched him and his family to Sparta where the *Claudii* still had supporters. They were pleased to enjoy the locals’ hospitality but had to escape from there too for reasons that have not come down to us.

When Antonius and Octavianus came to an accord and signed the Peace Treaty of Brundisium, and a short while later signed the Treaty of Misenum in 39 BCE with Sex. Pompeius, an amnesty was granted to those who had sided with him. Nero and his young family could finally return home to Rome. They may,

however, have discovered upon arrival in the city that as a result of the Treaty of Misenum their house on the Palatine Hill had been confiscated because they were proscribed or marked as opponents, rather than fleeing Italy for their safety.¹⁷ The adventure lasting more than a year was a humiliating experience.

Nero played no further role in public life and with time on his hands likely spent it with his two boys. There is nothing in the Roman literature to suggest what kind of father he was, but his sons appear to have respected him. Their time together was short. In 33 BCE, Nero unexpectedly died. His eldest son Tiberius was left to pronounce the public funeral oration at the public speakers' *rostrum* in the Forum Romanum.¹⁸ No record of what he said survives. When he was older, however, he would mark his father's memory with gladiatorial games (*munus*).¹⁹

At about this time Drusus changed his *praenomen* from Decimus to Nero but the literature does not indicate when.²⁰ It is possible that he did so directly following the death of his father. By taking Nero as his first name he may have been preserving and celebrating the memory of his father.²¹ There is an alternative explanation. The word *nero* in the ancient Sabine language once spoken in the region around Rome meant 'strong and valiant'.²² It was a good name for a boy descended from such a distinguished clan. From that moment on he was known as Nero Claudius Drusus.

The two boys – Tiberius now nine years old and Drusus five – moved into their mother's house on the Palatine Hill. In the late first century BCE the Palatine, a hill rising some 40 metres to the south of the Forum Romanum, was the 'des res' address of the rich and powerful. It was likely the house of the famed orator Q. Hortensius Hortalus, which had been obtained by Octavianus, that Livia lived in since her wedding.²³ When the boys moved in to their new accommodation some of the property may have still been under construction. In 36 BCE, a lightning strike had hit the building. Priests declared this to be a sign that the gods required the site. Octavianus obliged, first making that part of the house a public space, which he consecrated to Apollo, the god to whom he ascribed his naval victory at Naulochus, and later redeveloping the site to build a temple to the god with a fine surrounding portico. The state compensated Octavianus with a new house.²⁴ The property was modest in size and decoration, but sympathetic to Octavianus' laconic tastes.²⁵ Rooms were unadorned with marble decorations or pavements and the colonnades were of a hard grey volcanic rock called peperino.

According to Suetonius, Octavianus used the same bedroom in this house for forty years.²⁶ What are generally believed to have been its foundations have been found on the south ridge of the hill, south of the Domus Tiberiana, between the Scalae Caci, the Temple of Apollo on the east and Temple of Magna Mater on the west side.

In this somewhat austere home Tiberius and Drusus received their classical education. During this higher-level education, they would be schooled in the art of eloquence by a *grammaticus*. For male members of Octavianus' family expected to fully participate in government, this was a particularly important skill. Greek and Latin poems were the subject of study, and through them they learned astronomy, geography, social history, natural history, mythology and religion to fully understand the texts. Romans read not in silence but aloud. In reciting the works, the student learned to enunciate and pronounce words correctly and to read with feeling. Drusus would have been expected to learn passages by heart and to prepare spoken and written explanations of them.

T. Livius had not yet begun writing his ambitious *From the Foundation of the City (Ab Urbe Condita)* but there were several respected written annals and chronicles of the Romans that Drusus could have read. The *Claudii* on his father's side figured prominently in Rome's history and studying his illustrious ancestors' lives and achievements would have been an essential part of Drusus' education. It must have been a heady start for a young boy, at once inspiring and intimidating, to learn about the great men who had shaped the destiny of the nation and to know they were his own flesh and blood.

The semi-legendary founder of the *gens Claudia* was App. Claudius Sabinus Inregillensis (Stemma Claudiorum no. 1). He was born Attius Clausus in Regillus in the Sabine (*Sabinium*) territories of Latium and sought peace with his Roman neighbour after they had overthrown their king and founded a republic.²⁷ It was not a popular position among the Sabines, but he left his hometown around the year 504 BCE and was joined by others. Arriving in Rome, Claudius was received warmly and made a senator while his followers became Roman citizens. He was elected consul of Rome in 495 BCE but, according to Livy, he was "harsh by nature" and "loved tyranny". His enforcement of debt laws forced a secession of the plebians in 494–493 BCE. Notwithstanding his tough autocratic leanings, he established one of the most important dynasties in Roman history.

Several of his successors held high office as consuls and

censors, defended the state in times of crisis and led wars against Rome's enemies. The Claudian family tree was a case study in leadership. In the five centuries following App. Claudius Sabinus, "it was honoured with twenty-eight consulships, five dictatorships, seven censorships, six triumphs, and two ovations".²⁸ The *gens Claudia* was peopled with men of character and principle, bold, sometimes bloody-minded and stubborn individuals who had *virtus* in abundance and were prepared to take on the vested interests in the name of *aequitas* and *libertas*, and more often than not left Rome a better place.²⁹

As censor in 312 BCE App. Claudius Caecus 'the blind' (c.340 BCE–273 BCE, Stemma Claudiorum no. 10) sought to enfranchise the sons of freedmen and the rural tribes who had no land. He commissioned the construction of the Via Appia that connected Rome to Capua and the aqueduct that brought fresh water to the City. He published for the first time a list of legal procedures and the legal calendar, knowledge of which, until that time, had been monopolised by the *pontifices*. Twice consul and once dictator he was remembered for a speech he gave against Cineas, an envoy of Pyrrhus of Epirus, declaring that Rome would never surrender.³⁰

Claudians fought and won – occasionally acting stupidly rather than boldly – in the war against Rome's sworn enemy Carthage. In 265 BCE, App. Claudius Caudex (Stemma Claudiorum no. 11), whose *cognomen* meant 'blockhead', was the first to cross the Straits of Misenum with a fleet to come to the aid of the Mamertines, and drove the Carthaginians from Sicily. In so doing he caused the First Punic War (264–241 BCE).³¹ Caudex's nephew P. Claudius (Stemma Claudiorum no. 13) demonstrated he had less humility than humour. He was also the first of the *Claudii* to receive the *cognomen* Pulcher meaning 'beautiful', although it was intended as a cruelly sarcastic joke (a characteristically Roman trait) since he was far from handsome. In 249 BCE

when, off the coast of Sicilia, the pullets used for taking augury would not eat, in contempt of the omen [he] threw them overboard, as if they should drink at least, if they would not eat. After his defeat, when he was ordered by the senate to name a dictator, making a sort of jest of the public disaster, he named Glycias, his apparitor.³²

He was tried for incompetence and impiety and fined, dying shortly after, possibly by his own hand.

One of the four sons of App. Claudius Caecus founded the branch of the family known as the *Claudii Nerones*. In 214 CE C. Claudius Nero (a descendant of T. Claudius Nero, Stemma

Claudiorum no. 15) was sent to crush Hasdrubal Barca on his arrival from Hispania with a vast army before he could unite with his brother Hannibal. Either he did not have enough time to arrive or he lost his way but the engagement between the Carthaginian and Consul Marcellus took place without him. Seven years later as Consul Claudius Nero, he redeemed himself in 207 BCE when he won the Battle of Metaurus, a pivotal victory for the Romans in the Second Punic War (218–201 BCE).³³ He cut off Hasdrubal's head and threw it into Hannibal's camp.

By adoption of his mother's grandfather into the family, the blood of the *Livii* also mingled in Drusus' veins.³⁴ Although plebian they were upright citizens who, like their nobler Claudian counterparts, had distinguished themselves "having had the honour of eight consulships, two censorships, three triumphs, one dictatorship and the office of master of the horse".³⁵ One such was M. Livius Drusus (Stemma Drusorum no. 6). He was a plebian tribune in 91 BCE who had revolutionary ideas about reforming the Roman state. While his vision aimed to strengthen the rule of the senatorial class, it had the practical effect of extending influence to the plebian class and offering citizenship to Rome's Italian allies. Realizing the cost to their monopoly of power, Livius Drusus gradually lost the support of the moneyed middle class (called knights, *equites*) as well as the senatorial class. Later that year he was assassinated. The Italian allies revolted and the terrible Social War that followed consumed Italy for four years. The Romans finally suspended the war, offered the Italians concessions and Livius Drusus passed into Roman history as a folkloric hero in the mould of the Gracchi brothers.

His adopted son, App. Claudius Pulcher, who later took the name M. Livius Drusus Claudianus (Stemma Drusorum no. 7), was a direct descendant of App. Claudius Caecus and was the father of Livia Drusilla. He firmly believed in the institutions of the *res publica* and staunchly opposed G. Iulius Caesar. Following the assassination he supported the leaders M. Iunius Brutus and C. Cassius Longinus and joined their cause. When they were finally defeated at Philippi in 42 BCE and took their own lives, M. Livius Drusus Claudianus committed suicide himself to avoid capture by Octavianus and Antonius.

The wax masks of many of these men (*imagines maiores*) made while they were very much alive and in rude health would have filled cupboards (*armaria*) at the houses of Nero, Octavianus and Livia in which Drusus lived as a boy.³⁶ The masks captured the actual features, warts and all, of the

ancestors and they were brought out and worn in public at funerals along with the ceremonial clothes they had worn in life to remind the living of the men who had gone before.³⁷ In Roman society tradition was cherished and people were expected to show a profound respect for the ways of the ancestors, the *mos maiorum*.³⁸ In the face of this family history young Drusus must have wondered how his descendants would remember him and what his legacy would be.

Growing Up with Augustus

In one key respect, Drusus and Tiberius had an unconventional education. As members of Octavianus' family they would have mixed with Rome's great and good. They attended formal dinners at which men versed in the arts of words and music recited epic poems and sang elegies; and they listened to men versed in the arts of government and war who talked of grand strategy and military tactics. Among the most influential of these was M. Vipsanius Agrippa, Octavianus' friend since childhood and most trusted confidant. The Claudian boys would have heard first hand his accounts of negotiations with allies, of battles with Rome's enemies and plans for the development of the army and navy.

The world of Roman politics and international diplomacy was changing quickly. In 31 BCE Octavianus finally scored his decisive victory over M. Antonius and Kleopatra at the Battle of Actium masterminded by Agrippa. The following year Octavianus was in Egypt receiving the complete surrender of the army and submission of the city of Alexandria. The triumvirate, which had been empowered to rule the dominions of Rome, was now effectively a one-man show. With Antonius dead, Lepidus, who had always been very much a distant third man in the group, resigned. Octavianus was left sole ruler of the Roman world.

He returned to Rome and in 29 BCE celebrated his victories at Actium, Egypt and Illyricum (Dalmatia) with a triple triumph. Octavianus was not the first man to achieve the distinction of being awarded three triumphs. Iulius Caesar's one time ally turned rival, Gn. Pompeius Magnus, was celebrated as a 'three time general'.³⁹ What made Octavianus' triumphal celebration so memorable was that they were all held on consecutive days, starting on 13 August. In doing so, Octavianus had proved to the world that he was at least the equal to Pompeius. For the adopted son of Caesar, this was a crowning moment. For the members of his family these were proud days, and there is

evidence that nine-year old Drusus actively participated in them in a very public way.

A full triumph (*pompa triumphalis*) was an extraordinary spectacle, part tickertape and part Fourth of July parade. As *triumphator* Octavianus rode on a decorated gilded victor's chariot (*inaurati carrus*). Over a *tunica palmata*, so named presumably because it was adorned with a palm leaf, he wore the purple dyed *toga purpurea*, or *toga picta*, which is also known from representations on coins to have been a gown elaborately embroidered – probably in thread wrapped with gold – with borders, tendrils and curlicues.⁴⁰ Adding to the dramatic effect his face, possibly his entire body, was daubed red with cinnabar or red lead.⁴¹ As he stood holding the reins in one hand and a sceptre surmounted with an eagle in the other, a public slave or companion held a laurel wreath, and uttered the words “look behind you; remember you are a man”. It was becoming customary for members of the family of the triumphant commander to ride with him in the chariot – if they were small enough – or on horseback riding alongside. On a recently discovered monument at Nikopolis, the site of the Battle of Actium, there is a depiction of the triumph of 29 BCE. It shows a boy and a girl beside the figure of Octavianus. In the written record, imperial biographer Suetonius says Tiberius rode on the left trace horse, while M. Claudius Marcellus, the eldest son of Octavia, rode on the right. If the sculpture is an accurate depiction of the triple triumph, this leaves the likely identities of the two children to be Iulia (from Octavianus' marriage with Scribonia) and Drusus.⁴²

Cheering crowds thronged the route from the Campus Martius outside the walls on a plain northwest of the city, to the Forum Romanum, lying below the Capitol Hill. Behind Octavianus and his guests followed the men of the legions who had fought for him, and a procession laden with magnificent war spoils and trophies. These were described on placards carried on poles so they could be read by the crowd. Floats displayed exotic captives from foreign lands wearing their colourful costumes, and their strange and varied arms and armour hung decoratively from posts. The Roman poet P. Vergilius Maro (Vergil) captured the atmosphere and drama of the occasion in his *Aeneid*, which set in words of great power the foundation myth of Augustus' Rome, in a passage which reads:

The victor to the gods his thanks express'd,
And Rome, triumphant, with his presence bless'd.
Three hundred temples in the town he plac'd;

With spoils and altars ev'ry temple grac'd.
Three shining nights, and three succeeding days,
The fields resound with shouts, the streets with
praise,
The domes with songs, the theaters with plays.
All altars flame: before each altar lies,
Drench'd in his gore, the destin'd sacrifice.
Great Caesar sits sublime upon his throne,
Before Apollo's porch of Parian stone;
Accepts the presents vow'd for victory,
And hangs the monumental crowns on high.
Vast crowds of vanquish'd nations march along,
Various in arms, in habit, and in tongue.
Here, Mulciber assigns the proper place
For Carians, and th' ungirt Numidian race;
Then ranks the Thracians in the second row,
With Scythians, expert in the dart and bow.
And here the tam'd Euphrates humbly glides,
And there the Rhine submits her swelling tides,
And proud Araxes, whom no bridge could bind;
The Danes' unconquer'd offspring march behind,
And Morini, the last of humankind.
These figures, on the shield divinely wrought,
By Vulcan labor'd, and by Venus brought,
With joy and wonder fill the hero's thought.
Unknown the names, he yet admires the grace,
And bears aloft the fame and fortune of his
race.⁴³

To a nine-year old boy standing next to the man of the moment in one of the greatest spectacles on earth, for not one but three days, the experience must have been thrilling and made a profound and lasting impression.

Following his victory celebrations, Octavianus dedicated the Temple of Iulius Caesar and the Curia Iulia in the Forum. The temple stood on the spot where Caesar's body had been burned and marked the eastern end of the Forum. The following year he dedicated the Temple of Apollo on the Palatinus hill and construction began on his massive mausoleum. In the newly built Curia, the senate met and it was in here, in 27 BCE, he reached a landmark power sharing accord with the Senate that gave him authority over certain provinces along the perimeter of the empire and crucially the legions located there, while the senate agreed to govern the inner provinces closer to Rome.⁴⁴ For his generosity, he was declared *Augustus*, a title meaning

‘revered one’, by which he was thereafter known.⁴⁵ By these means, he had effectively become the head of state and secured the means to hold it – all while seeming to preserve the institutions of the *res publica*. Drusus was now a member of the first and most powerful family of the empire.

One of Augustus’ first acts was to head to Gallia Comata and Hispania to deal with the unrest there. Ever since Iulius Caesar had campaigned in the regions there had been niggling pockets of resistance. The Gauls (*Galli*) showed their resentment of their Roman masters periodically, while in the north of the Iberian Peninsula the Astures (living in the region of modern Asturias) and Cantabri (in Santander and Bilbao) had not yet accepted defeat. The situation called for a massive military response and Augustus decided to lead the campaign. He would have called upon Agrippa, to whom he normally turned to fight his wars, but he was occupied elsewhere. Augustus’ decision meant he would be away from Rome for three years. Tiberius accompanied him and on his arrival in Hispania, assumed his first military posting as a tribune with one of the several legions stationed there.⁴⁶ Livia may well have gone abroad with them. It was not customary for the wife of a military commander to accompany her husband, but Augustus was no ordinary commander and Livia no ordinary wife. This raises the possibility that Drusus also accompanied her since it was unlikely she would leave her fifteen-year old son alone in Rome. She would, however, have stayed away from the combat zone and remained in the pacified areas and usefully used her time there. Livia certainly had many agri-business interests throughout Italy and the provinces that made her independently wealthy. One of these was a copper mine, possibly located in the Rhône valley, the product of which Pliny the Elder rated very highly and remarked was called by its own name, *aes Livianum* – ‘Livian copper’.⁴⁷ If he was with her Drusus may have accompanied her on visits to the farms and learned the rudiments of business management by listening to his mother discussing affairs with her administrators and bailiffs. Except for agriculture, business through trade was not something the patrician class usually handled directly, but at arms length. Manufacturing enterprises were generally the preserve of private contractors and the *equites*.

The war against the Astures and Cantabri dragged on as the Romans battled against opponents who used the country’s rugged mountainous landscape to their fullest advantage. In 25 or 24 BCE Augustus fell seriously ill – typhoid fever is suspected, though Dio suggests “fatigue and anxiety” brought on by the

war. The situation became grave enough for Augustus to pass his political authority (*maius*) to Agrippa. Many were taken aback by the choice, expecting that his nephew Marcellus, who was younger in age and seen as being groomed for the succession, would be favoured.⁴⁸ However, the older man still had Augustus' confidence. Indeed, rather than delay the ceremony, Augustus asked Agrippa to officiate at the wedding of Marcellus to Iulia since he was still in Hispania.⁴⁹ Meanwhile Augustus retired to Taracco (Taragona) where he convalesced for almost a year. Livia would surely have been at his side to try and nurse him back to good health. Though army doctors and surgeons were proficient in repairing wounds and broken limbs, Roman medicine relied heavily on the knowledge and insights accumulated by the Greeks such as Hippokrates. In the event, the treatments that were applied by his personal Greek physician, Antonius Musa, worked and Augustus made a spectacular recovery.⁵⁰ The family returned gratefully to Rome in 24 BCE.

Entering Public Life

When a Roman boy reached puberty, he officially came of age, put away childish things and became a man. Tiberius was fifteen when he marked his coming of age in 27 BCE, so assuming Drusus was the same age when he marked his event this places the event in 23 BCE. It was a cause for great celebration and normally occurred on 17 March on the day of the Festival of Liber and Libera, just as winter waned and the first signs of spring became evident. In the morning Drusus took off the *bulla*, a small bag shaped gold amulet, which he had worn around his neck as a boy, for the last time and placed it in the shrine of the family gods (*lararium*).⁵¹ Drusus put on his best white tunic and wore, for the first time, the all-white *toga pura* (plate 4) instead of the striped *toga praetexta* he had worn as a boy. He then led a procession of his family and friends called the *deductio in forum* to the Tabularium, the public records office located under the Capitolinus hill. There he was registered as a full Roman citizen (*civis*) and his name was entered on the roll of his tribe. A lavish coming of age party would have rounded off Drusus' special day.⁵² Then it was back to school.

That same year 19-year old Marcellus' career was boosted when Augustus permitted him to stand for election as a public official and for selection to the consulship ten years earlier than was customary.⁵³ As aedile (*aedilis*) he was responsible for maintaining public works and supervising public festivals. A

lavish spectacle was laid on to celebrate the young man's appointment.⁵⁴ With financial help from his father-in-law he also laid the foundation stone of the theatre in Rome that still bears his name.⁵⁵ While Marcellus seemed to enjoy the full favour of Augustus as a potential successor yet he still had to prove his judgement and capabilities. Fate would not afford him the opportunity to prove himself. Tragedy struck Augustus' household later that year when Marcellus died suddenly while in Baiae, near Neapolis (Naples). The circumstances of his sudden end are not known, though the typhoid epidemic of the previous year appears to have continued through 23 BCE killing many; but that did not prevent gossipers suspecting the hand of Livia in Marcellus' death, perceiving her own sons' careers disadvantaged by him while he was alive.⁵⁶ Rome mourned the loss of its young prince. Augustus presided over the funeral of his son-in-law, giving the eulogy, placing his ashes in his own mausoleum, commissioning statues of him and requiring his memory to be marked at public spectacles.⁵⁷ The poet Vergil added Marcellus to his epic *Aeneid* as one of the illustrious men Aeneas met in the underworld and readings of the great work were given to Augustus and Octavia.⁵⁸ Even Agrippa hastened back from Syria to console his friend. He was rewarded with the hand of Marcellus' widow Iulia in marriage, which made Agrippa the *princeps'* son-in-law.⁵⁹ For the foreseeable future, Agrippa was the confirmed heir apparent.

Beginning in September 22 BCE, Augustus embarked on a tour of the eastern provinces. Tiberius accompanied him and it is almost certain that Livia joined him on this trip. The 16-year old Drusus may have stayed in Rome, but again it seems unlikely, since the trip was to last three years. Among the group was P. Quinctilius Varus, a contemporary of Tiberius from Cremona, setting out on the first rung of the political career ladder, and hopeful of someday attaining the consulship and restoring some shine to his impoverished family name.⁶⁰ The party first travelled to Sicily and sojourned there over the winter until Agrippa could be recalled to Rome to take over affairs of state. In the spring of 21 BCE they departed for Greece, visiting Athens, Delphi, probably Sparta, and Samos where they remained for the winter. The following year they set off for Asia Minor, with stops in Pergamum, Illium and Bithynia. Then the entourage moved to Syria, possibly stopping at Sidon and Tyre. Livia may have met Hordos (Herodes, Herod the Great) of Iudaea and his sister Salome there. Meanwhile, 21-year old Tiberius completed a successful diplomatic mission, backed up by military force in

case any was needed, in which he installed the pro-Roman Tigranes on the Armenian throne and placed the crown on his head with his own hands. He also ably assisted Augustus in securing the return of the legionary standards lost to the Parthians by Crassus at the Battle of Carrhae in 53 BCE. On the banks of the River Euphrates the *signa*, along with the surviving Roman prisoners, were handed over to Tiberius by Frahâta (Phraates).⁶¹ For the rest of Augustus' reign the eastern frontier would be peaceful.

The jubilant party now embarked on their return journey. In the winter of 20–19 BCE they rested in Samos. There they were visited by embassies from lands outside the empire, notably a queen from Ethiopia and an ambassador from India. The Indian emissary brought with him gifts of tigers, which no Roman had ever seen before, and other exotic beasts, including a man born without arms (which Strabo confirms he saw for himself), a partridge that was as large as a vulture, a huge tortoise and enormous snakes.⁶² In July 19 BCE they removed to Athens where, by chance, they met Vergil. He had travel plans of his own, but was persuaded to return to Italia with the imperial family. While well intentioned, it was a grave mistake. Unexpectedly he fell ill in Megara and when the group reached Brundisium, tragically the poet died on 21 September.⁶³ It was a melancholy note on which to end what had been a fantastically triumphant tour.

On reaching Rome, in gratitude for his achievements Augustus honoured Tiberius with “praetorian ornaments”, presumably meaning the dignity of the office of *praetor* rather than the actual position, which he did not assume until 16 BCE.⁶⁴ Drusus was not overlooked either. He was permitted to stand for every political office five years below the statutory age.⁶⁵

Frustratingly the ancient sources neither specify the office his career began with, nor when, but we know enough about the Roman career ladder to make an informed guess. In the Roman political hierarchy, the first step a young man took on the journey to becoming a consul, the *cursus honorum*, was to take on a minor judicial or administrative post. Each year twenty-six young men (*vigintisexviri*) were selected to enter public office and these were positions of some responsibility. Three of them were in charge of cases that involved capital punishment.⁶⁶ Three were the mint masters or moneyers, appointed to oversee production of coins and decide which images appeared on them: they bore the official title *tresviri aere argento auro flando feriundo*, literally meaning ‘three men for striking (and) casting

bronze, silver (and) copper (coins)'. Four of the magistrates dealt with matters concerning the city's extensive network of streets and two supervised the roads outside the city's walls. Four young men were sent to work in Campania. Ten, appointed by lot, worked for the prosecution or defence in one of the courts of the *centumviri* (literally 'one hundred men'). As one of these advocates Drusus would have had the opportunity to use the rhetorical skills he had learned from his *grammaticus*. In that rôle his brother had successfully defended a Jewish king in a case before Augustus, who sat as presiding judge at the trial held in private; and he had spoken in the senate on behalf of the citizens of several distressed communities imploring Rome for help following an earthquake.⁶⁷ Some sixty years later, G. Plinius Secundus (Pliny the Younger) represented clients at the Centumviral courts, which specialized in inheritance cases, and was so successful that soon after he became one of the ten magistrates on the board that oversaw these courts.⁶⁸

Having gained some basic work experience, Drusus was then appointed to the ancient office of *quaestor* on 5 December 19 BCE.⁶⁹ Dating back to when kings ruled Rome, by Augustus' time *quaestor* had become an elected magisterial position responsible for managing public finances and auditing financial records. The job might involve service overseas as a financial assistant to the governor of a province, such as Varus had done, or a posting in an outlying part of Italy, but in Drusus' case this was likely to have been in Rome itself.⁷⁰ One of the aims of the process was to expose the up-and-coming generation of senators to a wide variety of real world issues. His brother had started his posting supervising a department dealing with the problems of the corn supply (*annona*), which crossed from Egypt and North Africa to the port of Ostia before being taken by barge up the Tiber to warehouses in the city. Keeping the flow of corn uninterrupted was a critical job to ensure the people of the city had bread each day. The other part of Tiberius' department's remit was investigating the houses of correction across Italy. There were allegations that some of the men running these institutions had kidnapped innocent travellers as well as "those whom the fear of being obliged to serve in the army had driven to seek refuge in such places".⁷¹ A candidate for the office would normally have been expected to serve with the army before taking the office, as Tiberius did as a tribune in Hispania. There is no evidence that Drusus served in the military before his twentieth birthday.

We do not know how he felt as he arrived on his first day at the office. For Drusus, who had experienced his entire life as a

privileged citizen, working with people of all levels of Roman society, it would be an opportunity to learn first hand about life in the real world. At about the same age, Pliny had, as one of his first official jobs, the task of auditing the records of auxiliary cavalry and infantry. He applied himself to his job with dedication and thoroughness. He was surprised to uncover evidence of deliberate falsification of accounts, while others were maintained with scrupulous care.⁷² Knowing where the proverbial bodies were buried would make Drusus a more effective senior administrator in government later in life.

Affair of the Heart

In 19 BCE Drusus was just 19-years old and still single. As a member of Rome's leading family, Drusus was a very desirable bachelor and a good-looking one too. "As for his personal beauty (*pulchritudo corporis*)", writes Velleius Paterculus, "it was second only to his brother".⁷³ Surviving portraits from marble statue busts and coins show a clean-shaven young man with a pleasantly inverted triangular shaped face, a mop of thick hair in a fashionable feathered cut falling over a full forehead and worn long at the back of the neck, and long sideburns; large clear eyes, a prominent nose and small lips, supported by a muscular neck that was characteristic of the Claudians (plate 5). In Augustus' extended family few married for love. What mattered was that every marriage served a political end, either rewarding Augustus' new allies or reinforcing long-standing connections. In Tiberius' case, he had married Vispania Agrippina, the daughter of Agrippa in 20 BCE, presumably while travelling in the East. The marriage served to bind Agrippa's family closer to the family of Augustus. The question everyone was asking was who was a suitable match to marry Drusus?

There were several eligible brides available in Rome, but the young woman chosen for Drusus was the daughter of Augustus' erstwhile ally turned enemy. Born in Athens on 31 January 36 BCE, Antonia *minor* (Antonia the Younger) was M. Antonius' daughter by marriage to Octavia, the sister of Augustus.⁷⁴ When Antonius divorced her in 32 BCE, 4-year old Antonia returned to live with her mother, but she was also raised by her uncle, Augustus, and aunt, Livia. For a young woman of 19 she had amassed considerable wealth through inheritances, owning property in Egypt, Greece and Italy. She was reputed to be a woman of moral virtue and charm, like her mother, and portrait busts of the period identified as her (plate 6) attest to her delicate beauty.⁷⁵ As a member of Octavia's household she

would certainly have known Drusus, probably from an early age, as she was only two years younger than him, and they may even have been childhood friends. They could have been betrothed as early as 22 BCE before Drusus set off with the imperial party for the East.⁷⁶ She was marrying at an older age than her peers, most of whom would have been in their young teens when they tied the knot, however, she may have been waiting for Drusus to return from his travels.⁷⁷ The ceremony was a simple affair in which the consent of the fathers was normally secured before relatives and friends. Since Augustus was both stepfather of Drusus and uncle of Antonia, there were no objections. Drusus offered his fiancée a number of gifts and an engagement ring (either a ring of a circle of iron set in gold or a circle of gold), which Antonia immediately put on.⁷⁸

The date of the wedding is not known but the year 18 BCE seems likely.⁷⁹ In keeping with tradition, the *collegium pontificum* was consulted to find an auspicious day. The Kalends, Ides and Nones were considered bad days. May (the month of the Lemuria) was considered an ill-omened month, while the first half of June was the most propitious until the Temple of Vesta had been scoured on the fifteenth day.⁸⁰ The contemporary Greek poet Krinagoras on the palace staff hints at a date between mid-winter and the onset of spring, perhaps shortly after Antonia's birthday.⁸¹

As members of the patrician class Drusus and his bride married according to the sacred rite of *confarreatio*.⁸² The ceremony took its name from the spelt wheat cake (*libum farreum*), which the couple shared during the proceedings. It was a blend of solemn ritual and ribald spectacle. To invoke the good will of the gods the door and doorposts of the house in which the ceremony took place were decorated with wreaths of flowers, branches of myrtle and laurel and tied with coloured ribbons and carpets were laid at the entrance. The spirits of the departed members of the family too were invited to attend. The doors of the cupboards containing the wax death masks were thrown open so that the ancestors could also watch the happy event. All family members, dead or alive, were part of the occasion.

On the eve of the day of the wedding, Antonia would have dedicated her childhood toys to the Lares and Penates, the household gods. In the evening, she put on her wedding dress, a plain white tunic without a hem reaching to her feet (*tunica recta*) tied at the waist by a girdle of wool in a double knot (*nodus Herculeus*).⁸³ Then she retired to bed. Having risen early

next morning, she was attended by her maidservants who dressed her and fussed over her appearance to make her perfect for Drusus. She draped a saffron coloured cloak (*palla*) over her *tunica* and on her feet she put on sandals of the same shade. Her hair was dressed into six plaits (*sex crines*) using the point of a spear (*hasta caelibaris*) for this specific purpose and tied with ribbons (*vittae*) for the first time. Over this she donned an orange veil (*flammeum*) that covered the upper part of her face. Upon this headdress was placed a wreath of sweet majoram and verbenā. When she, and her mother Octavia, were satisfied with her appearance she went out to mingle with the guests in the high-ceilinged *atrium* of the house and welcomed the bridegroom, resplendent in his crisp white tunic and *toga pura*, and his family.

The ceremony began with the sacrifice of an animal – usually a pig, but sometimes a ewe.⁸⁴ The auspices were taken, and having been found propitious, the *auspex* declared the marriage ceremony proper could begin. Drusus and his bride signed a formal marriage contract (*tabulae nuptialis*) in the presence of ten witnesses who affixed their seals by pressing their engraved rings into hot wax. A matron (*pronuba*), who was required to have been married only once, accompanied Antonia throughout the ceremony. The *pronuba* then took Drusus' and Antonia's right hands and placed them in each others. In this most solemn moment of the ceremony (*dextrarum junctio*) the young couple silently exchanged vows to live together and Antonia uttered the words “*ubi tu Gaius, ego Gaia!*” This concluded the ceremony. The guests burst into applause, shouting their congratulations – “*feliciter!*” – as Drusus tenderly kissed the *nova nupta*, probably for the first time in public.

The ensuing banquet (*cena nuptialis*) lasted until the onset of night. Fine food and wines were served and the ribald remarks were exchanged. In a tradition echoing the rape of the Sabines, Drusus then attempted to snatch away his bride while she feigned terror and resisted him from the protective arms of Octavia. Having overcome the play-acted resistance Drusus then took his bride by the arm and walked to her new home. Living within the palace complex as they likely did, the couple did not have far to go. Flute players led a procession (*deductio*) to the bedroom followed by five torchbearers. The guests followed singing cheerful and bawdy songs. Three boys, whose parents were required to be still alive, accompanied the bride. One carried a firebrand of tightly twisted hawthorn twigs (*spina alba*), the charred remains of which were considered to be lucky

and given to the guests as keepsakes. The other two boys, *patrimi* and *matrimi*, led Antonia by the hands. Reaching the room, Antonia decorated the doorway with strips of wool and anointed them with pig's fat and oil whereupon Drusus picked her up and carried her through the doorway, treading upon a fine white cloth, which was strewn with green leaves and petals. Three bridesmaids carried her distaff and a second her spindle, symbols of her virtue and motherhood into the room. In exchange Drusus offered her water and fire and the *pronuba* led Antonia to the marriage bed (*lectus genialis*) where he invited his bride to recline facing the door. Prayers were offered to the Lares and Penates of the couple's home. As the wedding guests were shooed from the room and the door closed behind them, the couple were left to enjoy their own company for the first time. Drusus lifted off her *flammeum* and removed her *palla*. He carefully untied the *nodus Herculeus* and slipped off the *tunica recta* to share the first of many nights of intimacy with the beautiful daughter of M. Antonius.

The next morning, Antonia made an offering to the Lares and Penates and received gifts from Drusus. Then the couple joined Augustus, Livia and Octavia for a private banquet (*reposita*). The parents could happily reflect that both of Livia's boys were now married. With Drusus' marriage to Antonia a second generation of *gens Claudia* and *Iulia* were bound in matrimony.

The couple tried for their first child but it apparently did not survive.⁸⁵

Chapter 2

Drusus the Soldier

17–15 BCE

Disastrous News from Gallia Belgica

In the late summer of 17 BCE news arrived from Gallia Belgica of a military disaster. Augustus' gubernatorial representative there was M. Lollius. He had a reputation as a man of avarice rather than honest hard work, and for corruption despite his strenuous efforts to conceal it.¹ He had taken over the Gallic territories from Agrippa and was to prove a much less sure pair of hands, a fact the people across the Rhine River seem to have quickly recognised. An alliance of the Germanic tribes on the right bank had crossed the river and raided deep into the Roman province. The historian Florus describes an event that would have sent a chill down the spine of any Roman hearing the news. "The three powerful tribes of the Cherusci, Suebi and Sugambri", he wrote,

had commenced the war by burning twenty of our centurions, regarding this proceeding as a bond of union, and entertaining such confident hopes of victory, that they divided the spoil by agreement beforehand".²

In this dark deal, the Cherusci chose the horses, the Suebi opted for the precious metals gold and silver, while the Sugambri picked the captives.³ The geographer Strabo unequivocally asserts in his account of these events that "it was the Sugambri, who live near the Rhenus, that began the war".⁴ He specifically identifies Melo – spelled Maelo in Augustus' own account of his achievements – as their leader, and the culprit.⁵ The Sugambri were joined by the Tencteri and Usipetes. They were two Germanic nations that had been looking for new homelands even in Caesar's day, having lost their native homelands to the much-feared Suebi advancing from east of the Elbe River.⁶ It was while trying to find these marauders that *Legio V Alaudae* ("The Larks") under Lollius' command was attacked. Roman cavalry raced to intercept the invaders, but in the chase they were themselves ambushed. While hunting down their Roman fugitives, the German alliance ran straight into the path of Lollius' legion. In the ensuing battle, which likely took place somewhere in

Flanders, the *Alaudae* lost its prized *aquila* standard.⁷ Romans could accept tactical defeats, but the loss of the legionary eagle standard was considered *graves ignominias cladesque* – “a grave and severe disaster” – leaving the nation feeling a profound sense of shame or humiliation (*infamia*) and creating a stain on the national psyche that had to be expunged.⁸ Having only recently recovered the eagles from the defeat at Carrhae, it was a personal embarrassment to Augustus to see one lost by his own hand picked lieutenant. The invaders dug in for the winter.⁹ Worrying to Augustus on a practical level was what the setback might do by way of upsetting the confidence of the Gauls, who could interpret the Romans’ military loss as a sign of weakness, or use it as a pretence for rebellion.

Augustus was so concerned by the news that he began making the arrangements to take command of the situation in person even this late in the season.¹⁰ Level heads prevailed and he was persuaded – perhaps by Agrippa or Livia – to delay the trip until the following year.¹¹ In the intervening months the military emergency passed. Lollius had successfully prepared a counter offensive.¹² When the news that Augustus was planning a military punitive counter response reached the Germanic tribes, their alliance retreated across the Rhine and sued for peace, even handing over hostages to the Romans as evidence of their good faith.¹³ The crisis was over, the *status quo* restored – at least until the Germans were tempted to cross the river again. However, Augustus determined to take control of the situation. The events of that late summer of 17 BCE triggered the biggest review of northern frontier policy since Caesar invaded Gaul more than four decades earlier.

Before Augustus could leave Rome in the spring of 16 BCE, he had important civic duties to perform. He inaugurated a renovated Temple of Quirinus and also gave gladiatorial games (*ludi*), which were public events intended primarily as blood-sacrifice offerings to the gods and secondarily as entertainment for the people.¹⁴ Augustus first had to ask the permission of the Senate and, when granted, the task of organizing them fell to Tiberius and Drusus.¹⁵ Organising the games was a major undertaking involving planning a programme of events and ceremonies, managing a budget, contracting with owners of gladiator troupes (*familiae*) and distributing tickets (*tesserae*). The games had become a big business and politically minded magistrates could exploit them for votes. In 22 BCE, Augustus transferred responsibility for organising the official *ludi* from the aediles to the praetors, placing a strict cap on public spending

and a limit of 120 gladiators, unless permission was granted for more by the senate.¹⁶ As Drusus was still a *quaestor* he probably acted as a junior assistant to his brother who had been made *praetor* earlier that year. There were several games in the Roman calendar and they were becoming increasingly lavish spectacles (*spectacula*). The previous year, the first of the once-in-a lifetime *ludi Saeculares* had been inaugurated on 31 May to mark the beginning of a new epoch of peace, prosperity and happiness.¹⁷ Intended to be one of the definitive events and enduring legends of Augustus' principate, the Secular Games lasted several days, consisting of formal ceremonies and sacrifices and a week of entertainments, including nighttime events by torchlight and a public concert of Horace's specially commissioned *Carmen Saeculare*.¹⁸ In comparison, the games supervised by Drusus and Tiberius were a much more modest affair. Nevertheless the goal was to put on the best show the available money could buy and the trick for each sponsor was to produce a more spectacular event than the last, just as cities hosting the Olympic Games do today. Hard nosed negotiating, calling in favours and appealing to corporate citizenship all played a part.

There were several venues in the city to hold the *ludi*. Great temporary stands were erected for the spectators in the Forum Boarium, Rome's ancient cattlemarket, or along the length of the rectangular space of the Forum Romanum. There was also the larger Circus Maximus, usually used for chariot races, which could be used to host more bloodthirsty entertainments. The hemicycle-shaped theatres of Gn. Pompeius Magnus and Marcellus may also have been used to stage games, but Rome's first true purpose-built amphitheatre was erected by T. Statilius Taurus only as late as 29 or 27 BCE and at the time was considered a great innovation.¹⁹ Other than the Circus Maximus seating at most venues was severely limited, however – one estimate is for just 3,300 seats in the stands erected in the Forum Romanum.²⁰ This sometimes led to tardy senators arriving to find all seats had been taken. During the same period Statilius Taurus opened his new amphitheatre.²¹ Sometime between 26 and 17 BCE Augustus introduced the *lex Iulia theatralis*, which ensured that senators and equestrians always had seats reserved for them in the front fourteen rows.²² The lower orders probably received their tickets from their patrons so the distribution of *tesserae* – the coin-like disks or tokens that permitted entry to the events – was a means to reward political favours and curry others. Anyone with a spare *tessera* instantly became everyone else's best friend.

The *ludi* were anticipated with great excitement. During the days preceding the *ludi*, members of the political priesthood (*Quindecimviri Sacris Faciundis*) provided sulphur, tar and torches for the people to carry out private purification rites.²³ The day of the games combined the pomp and ceremony of religious rites with glitz and glamour of a rockstar concert. As presiding magistrates, Drusus and Tiberius took their seats in the place of honour in the sponsor's box. The programme might have included sacrifices of sheep and goats, executions of criminals, beast hunts and fights between pairs of gladiators. The Romans were fascinated by the novelty and variety of combat techniques of their subject peoples and pitched differently armed gladiators against each other. Men equipped as Samnites with pectoral plate armour, greaves, a spear and large round shield might duel with a Gaul (*gallus*) armed with chain mail body armour, large flat shield and spear.²⁴ The *secutor* with his brimless helmet and face guard with just two eye-holes, armed with a short sword (*gladius*) and a large army-style shield (*scutum*) was frequently pitted against the Thracian (*thraex*) equipped with a heavy helmet having many eye holes but a large crest and arm guard (*manica*), wielding a curved sword and carrying a small curved rectangular shield. The 'Netman' (*retiarius*) who fought with fishing net (*rete*) and trident often faced a heavily armed 'Fishman' (*murmillo*) carrying a sword and shield, but whose brimmed helmet with face guard restricted his view and disadvantaged its wearer by a prominent crest which could be snared by the opponent's net. Alternatively, the *secutor* with a brimless helmet and small buckler and just two eye holes might fight the *retiarius*. The gladiators fought until one man fell or raised his hand for clemency. The referee (*lanista*) appealed to the sponsor for a decision who generally looked to the spectators for guidance. One estimate is that a gladiator had a 9:1 chance of surviving a bout, though if he lost this fell to 4:1.²⁵ Nevertheless, men did die on the sand of the *arena*, most being under 25 years of age. At just 22, Drusus had already been exposed to the gory spectacle of death in combat and the spilling of blood of men his own age.

Restless Borderlands

Leaving the affairs of the city and Italia in the hands of Statilius Taurus as city caretaker-in-chief (*praefectus urbi*) Augustus now departed with Tiberius for what would be a three-year long sojourn in the Gallic and Hispanic provinces.²⁶ Livia may have travelled with them.²⁷ The trail of evidence concerning Drusus'

whereabouts, however, wears thin at this point. Most likely, the newly minted young husband stayed in Rome. Dio comments that a decree had been issued which granted Drusus the power to perform the duties of a *praetor*.²⁸ A *praetor*'s day job involved judicial work in the city and was a position of responsibility. This was a high honour indeed as he was only twenty-two years old whereas the position of *praetor* was only normally available to men of thirty or older.²⁹ Being a member of the *princeps*' family evidently had its privileges. In this scenario, with his stepfather, mother and brother away, it was perhaps the first time in Drusus' young life that he had *not* been in his parent's company. He and his new wife may, however, have accompanied the entourage, though there is no evidence to confirm one or other possibility.

Augustus' departure coincided with the circulation of several disturbing reports of supernatural activities. The Romans were by nature superstitious and sensitive to unusual natural events and accepted the paranormal as fact. The day after Augustus left Rome the temple of Iuventus burned to the ground; people were killed when a wolf ran along the *via Sacra* into the Forum Romanum; ants swarmed; and most ominously, all night long from the south to the north a flame like a firebrand burned in the sky.³⁰ It seemed the trip might in some way be cursed. The priests were consulted and prayers recited for the *princeps*' safe return. Yet it was regarded by man as an inauspicious start to such a great venture.

The journey took several weeks by road. On it he was accompanied by men of the Praetorian Cohorts and his faithful bodyguard comprising entirely of Germanic mercenaries.³¹ Arriving under cover of darkness – since he disliked the fuss of ceremony that came with daytime arrivals – Augustus installed himself in the provincial capital at Lugdunum (Lyon).³² He was no stranger to the region having made trips there in 39 BCE and again in 27 BCE. Augustus had left Rome to address several problems “in the Galliae, Hispaniae and Germaniae”.³³ In the Hispaniae, the war of 29–19 BCE against the Astures and Cantabri had been won by Agrippa and had been over for three years but there remained a massive Roman military presence there.³⁴ The decade-long war in the north of the country had sapped the population, and consumed vast amounts of blood and treasure, but the region still required constant monitoring to avoid another outbreak. For the time being, it was under Roman control. In the Galliae the situation appears to have been stable but tense following the events of the Lollian Disaster.

Nevertheless, the raid led by Maelo of the Sugambri and his allies over the River Rhine (Rhenus) had highlighted both to the population and to Augustus the vulnerability of the Gallic provinces. Augustus must have come to a realisation that there could not be peace and stability in the region while foreigners could enter, cause havoc and leave at will. Moreover, the terror of the invasion of the Cimbri from what is now Denmark and the Teutones from northern Germany who had swept down to the Italian Alps the previous century was still etched into the collective Roman memory.³⁵ A more enduring solution to ensure the security of Roman assets was needed.

Augustus was a careful planner. He often quoted the Greek maxim that war should only be fought when what could be won in victory *always* outweighed what could be lost in defeat.³⁶ “For”, he said,

men who pursue small advantages with no small hazard, resemble those who fish with a golden hook, the loss of which, if the line should happen to break, could never be compensated by all the fish they might take.³⁷

The Roman frontier was not a defensible line demarcated by any firm military barrier. The River Rhine formed a convenient natural frontier but, as the Sugambri and Tencteri had proved in 17 BCE and earlier in 55 BCE, it was permeable to those determined to cross it.³⁸ Invaders could then travel far inland until they were intercepted by Roman forces. Rome’s border was a soft frontier, where local populations co-existed, using streams and natural landmarks to define their territories. Moreover, these boundaries were not permanent. They were “frontier zones, rather than lines”, some of which overlapped.³⁹ Migrations of peoples, such as the Helvetii in 58 BCE, constantly changed the boundaries.⁴⁰ The frontier was only as permanent as Rome’s ability to enforce it and in practice there were simply not enough available troops to police the nominal boundary that divided Roman from non-Roman (*peregrinus*) in the Gallic provinces. The logical move was to place a large army along the Rhine to intercept any future incursions by Germanic marauders, and routinely patrol it with river craft. In what seems to be an attempt at a fresh start, Augustus replaced M. Lollius appointing Tiberius to be his provincial governor (*legatus augusti pro praetore*).⁴¹ Among his many tasks, Tiberius, who had served in the war against the Astures and Cantabri, would supervise the relocation of legions from the Iberian peninsula to Gaul.

The security of Gaul did not exist in isolation. It was only one piece of a larger problem. Studying the maps available to him, Augustus would have seen an obvious gap in the land frontier of

Roman territory in the north (map 1). The Romans did not yet control the Rhine for its entire length. Additionally the wide strip of land between the Alpine Passes of northern Italy and the banks of the River Danube (Danuvius, Ister) extending eastwards as far as the shores of the Black Sea (Mare Euxinus) was also *outside* Roman control. To move men and matériel, Roman armies had to march through northern Italy then take the coast road to Provincia and head north or run the gauntlet over the Alps. The solution arrived at was to annexe the entire sweep of Alpine lands and the lowlands down to the Rhine and Danube rivers. This became the immediate strategic imperative, the necessary prerequisite before embarking on a longer-range campaign to address the problem of Germania Magna. That would mean subjugating at least forty-six tribal nations across some of the most difficult terrain in Europe.⁴²

Roman historians dismissed the notion that Augustus invaded his neighbours without just cause (*sine iustis causis*), or sought to expand the empire out of personal ambition or lust for glory.⁴³ Yet that does not fully square with the facts. True, the Romans had engaged in wars of ‘defensive aggression’, coming to the aid of their treaty allies when called upon to use military force, but it is a fact that they waged war every spring during the early fourth to the middle of the first century BCE, except in the most unusual of circumstances.⁴⁴ The senate was not averse to annexing territory when it made sense to do so from the perspective of practicality and profitability.⁴⁵ Declaring war was a serious business, however, and accompanied by due legal and religious process. From the earliest days a priesthood of *fetiales* advised the senate on foreign policy matters, took care of treaties, and acted as travelling ambassadors and heralds of peace or war.⁴⁶ Before invoking war with their Latin and Italian neighbours they made a direct appeal to the gods to support the Roman cause for it was they who would decide the side worthy of victory.⁴⁷ The *fetiales* even carried a magical spear (a fire-hardened or iron-tipped wooden stake) that after the proper incantations had been recited, would be hurled into the enemy’s territory.⁴⁸ By the time of Augustus the Romans had a less religious sensitivity to warring, but, nevertheless, the niceties of religious ritual were still observed. The empire’s enemies might now be far away but distance posed no obstacle and there was even a conveniently located plot of land in the city of Rome into which the fetial spear could be thrust for the purpose of officially declaring war on her foreign adversaries.⁴⁹ By then, the Romans were no longer following an exclusively defensive

foreign policy for keeping the barbarians out of their dominions, but also one of actively going out to conquer the barbarians in order to add to them.⁵⁰ Neither Augustus nor his legates felt constrained by frontiers, natural or of their own making. Vergil expresses the mood of the age in the way only a poet could by putting in the mouth of Iupiter, king of the gods, these rousing words:

The people Romans call, the city Rome.
To them no bounds of empire I assign,
Nor term of years to their immortal line.
Ev'n haughty Juno, who, with endless broils,
Earth, seas, and heav'n, and Jove himself
turmoils;
At length aton'd, her friendly pow'r shall join,
To cherish and advance the Trojan line.
The subject world shall Rome's dominion own,
And, prostrate, shall adore the nation of the
gown.⁵¹

Even these lofty sentiments may yet disguise the real reason for the war of conquest north of the Alps. There was perhaps another deeper psychological motive, one that often drives monarchs and autocrats to act as they do. As Florus puts it

but because he knew that Caesar, his father, had twice made bridges over the Rhine to prosecute the war against the country, he was desirous in honour of him, to make it a province.⁵²

In other words, dressed up as an act of homage, Augustus wanted to prove to the world he was at least the equal of his celebrated father. There had even been speculation that Augustus might complete what his stepfather had begun and finish the conquest of Britannia, but that would have to wait.⁵³ Finding a solution to the German question now took preëminence.

Even while Augustus was in Lugdunum, the *proconsul* of Illyricum was engaging nations of the eastern Alps in the region between Como and Lake Garda.⁵⁴ Among the steep and craggy valleys there P. Silius Nerva succeeded in subduing the Camunni and Vennii.⁵⁵ It was only the latest piecemeal attempt to conquer the Alps and its independent-minded, free-spirited peoples. In 34 BCE, Augustus' deputy Antistius Verus had attacked the Salassi nation in the western Alps but was repulsed and it was not until nine years later that Terrentius Varro finally brought it to heel.⁵⁶ In 25 BCE, the *colonia* of Augusta Praetoria Salassorum (Aosta) was founded on the vacated site of Varro's

summer camp in what was becoming a rolling programme of establishing settlements of Roman veterans in the occupied frontier zone.⁵⁷ Over the next decade, the Roman army nudged ever further north, establishing forts and watchtowers in Basel, Oberwinterthur, Windisch and Zürich to control access through the valleys and passes in what must surely have been unpopular tours of duty for regular troops posted there during the winter months.⁵⁸ Clearly Augustus set his sights on annexing the Alps for some time.

The indigenous people were not, however, content to accept the encroachment of Roman settlers in what they considered to be *their* own territory. They viewed raiding Roman settlements as retaliation for seeing their lands invaded. The Raeti were particularly troubling to the Roman communities of northern Italy who lived in terror of them. The Raeti community was not a single nation state, though they spoke a common language, but a large clan comprising smaller groups which lived in the great sweep of what is now southern Bavaria, Tyrol and eastern Switzerland, reaching down to Lombardy in northern Italy, just north of Verona and Comum – the region variously called Gallia Cisalpina or Gallia Togata (*toga*-wearing Gaul) or Gallia Transpadana prior to 42 BCE (the part of Cisalpine Gaul between the Po and the Alps).⁵⁹ The Raeti resisted the Romans with all means at their disposal. They raided into Gallia Comata and Cisalpina, and Roman and allied merchants and travellers were frequently harassed as they went about their peaceful business. This was to be expected of barbarians, notes Dio wryly, but the gruesomeness of some acts committed by the Raeti went beyond the pale, for instance, when they slew not only all their male captives “but also those who were still in the women’s wombs, the sex of whom they discovered by some means of divination”.⁶⁰ To civilised Romans, this wanton terrorism could not be allowed to continue. Roman blood had been spilled. Augustus now had his *casus belli*, if he needed one, to embark on a military campaign to take the central region of the Alps.

About the military situation and the disposition of the legions across the region remarkably little is known.⁶¹ Following Actium, Augustus had demobbed some 120,000 troops and settled many of them in *coloniae* by 29 BCE, decommissioning several legions in the process.⁶² Several of the remaining legions were relocated to new bases in the western provinces, with the larger part of that army being stationed in the Iberian Peninsula to supplement units already there and where it had been locked in a brutal campaign against the Astures and Cantabri. The war

had finally ended in 19 BCE but the Roman army was still there in force.⁶³ The conclusion of the war in the Romans' favour created the opportunity to draw down significant numbers of these troops and redeploy them elsewhere. In Gallia Cisalpina there may also have been one or more legions or sub-units – possibly VIII *Hispana*, XIII *Gemina*, XIV *Gemina*, XVI *Gallica*. In Belgica *Legio V Alaudae* was stationed, possibly near Oppidum Ubiorum and Lingones, though not with any certainty, having been transferred there from Hispania Ulterior with Agrippa when he assumed the governorship of the region in 19 BCE; and it also is possible, but again not with any certainty, that *Legiones* I, XIII *Gemina*, XIV *Gemina*, XVII, XVIII and XIX were stationed in Aquitania in the years after Actium.⁶⁴ A revolt had broken out there in 39 BCE and the legions deployed to quell it may have still been in the region when Augustus visited with Tiberius in 16 BCE.⁶⁵ When not engaged in war, these legions would have been dispersed across Gaul constructing the four great military roads, which radiated out north, south, west and east from Lugdunum. Permanent or temporary Roman army bases would have been erected at some time along the roads or at their *termini*.⁶⁶ The Roman army is also known to have been responsible for building aqueducts to provide water for public baths in at least one instance.⁶⁷ The leadership of the Roman army was a devout believer in the adage 'the devil makes work for idle hands'.

His military resources determined Augustus now needed a man he could rely on to command them. Suetonius reports that Augustus often quoted the proverb "the cautious commander's better than the bold".⁶⁸ Augustus was faced with a difficult choice. His ablest general (who managed to combine both caution and boldness in almost equal measure), M. Vipsanius Agrippa, was *en route* to or had already arrived in Syria. He could recall him, but the message might take weeks or months to reach him and ultimately mean aborting the mission he had been sent to carry out. Rome needed to keep good relations with the neighbouring client king, Herodes, as a bulwark against the Parthians, so his recall was unsound policy.⁶⁹ As his second choice, he had with him his eldest stepson Ti. Claudius Nero, who had already proven himself an able soldier (who embodied caution but not so much boldness). However he currently had a full time job as his *legatus Augusti pro praetore* governing the Tres Galliae. There were plenty of legionary legates or political favourites he could pick from.⁷⁰ Instead he chose Nero Claudius Drusus to command the campaign in the Alps.⁷¹ His youngest

stepson may even have proposed that he should be given the chance to command.⁷² That he was chosen was a remarkable vote of confidence in the 22-year old, who still had no military experience. The campaign would provide the opportunity to test Drusus' leadership abilities and for him to show his mettle. Yet, it was also a typically pragmatic Augustan solution. Augustus could get the measure of his stepson and discover in what proportions he was cautious or bold. If he was smart the young and inexperienced commander would listen to his battle-hardened officers and troops and learn the arts of war in the field. Were he to encounter difficulties he could not overcome, Augustus and Tiberius would be nearby to come to his assistance with legions from Tres Galliae.

Call to Arms

Precisely when Drusus received the order to report for duty is not disclosed in the extant sources. It may have come in late 16 BCE. That would have allowed him to travel to Lugdunum and discuss the campaign with Augustus and Tiberius over the winter. Any later would reduce the window for preparations by the legions and their supporting troops.

The trip would offer Drusus a glimpse into the challenges that lay ahead of him as a combat soldier. On the outbound journey from Rome, the most direct route Drusus could take from northern Italy to Lugdunum was along the road which connected Ticinum (Pavia) to Mediolanum (Milan) to Vercellae (Verceil) through the valley of the Duria Bautica (Dora Baltea) to Augusta Praetoria (Aosta) and over the Alpīs Graia (Little St Bernard Pass) or the Summus Poeninus (Great St Bernard Pass).⁷³ However, this rocky road traversed Alpes Poeninae, which was not a region under total Roman control and blocked in places “by half-Germanic tribes”.⁷⁴ Drusus could run the gauntlet or take a second more secure road, the *via Cottia per Alpe*m, which crossed through the Roman protectorate of the Alpes Cottiae.⁷⁵ It was along this route that Hannibal Barca had marched his army with his elephants, a journey that took fifteen days (plate 7).⁷⁶ Iulius Caesar considered this the shortest route and it took him just six days to reach the Rhône from the Italian foothills.⁷⁷ The territory was a client-kingdom named after M. Iulius Cottius, a Ligurian noble, and son of King Donnus.⁷⁸ He had found a way to peacefully – if not profitably – co-exist with his Roman neighbours by constructing a road providing the way through the Alpine pass at Mount Genève (Matrona Mons).⁷⁹ Traffic from Augusta Taurinorum (Turin) could take the road

heading northwest to Cottius' capital at Segusio (Susa) and go on to Brigantium (Briançon). The road terminated at Glanum (St-Rémy-de-Provence), whence traffic could head south to Arelate (Arles) on the *via Domitia* which took them to the Iberian peninsula; or north through Arausio (Orange) and directly to Lugdunum.⁸⁰ Holding these transalpine routes open was key to ensuring continuous communications between the *princeps* and his government while he was away from Rome. Travelling these roads on his way to and from Lugdunum would have given Drusus a clear idea of the terrain and diversity of peoples he would be facing as military commander in the central Alpine region – with one major difference. There was no road by which Drusus could reach his military objectives in Raetia: he would have to build one.

Roman Forces

What happened at the meeting is not recorded in the surviving sources, yet we might imagine long discussions about the mission, strategy and tactics. With his marching orders received directly from Augustus, Drusus next reported to one of the legionary winter camps in northern Italy, likely in Gallia Cisalpina, which was controlled administratively from Mutina (Modena).⁸¹ Which legions were assigned to him is not known for certain based on the available evidence. Drusus may have had as many as five legions (the most likely candidates being *Legiones VIII Hispana*, *XIII Gemina*, *XIII Gemina*, *XVI Gallica* and *XXI Rapax*) or as few as one.⁸² As there were only twenty-six legions in the Roman army (*exercitus*) at this time, Drusus may have been entrusted with the command of up to 15 per cent of it.⁸³ Where they were stationed is also not clear. Their winter camps were likely located in forward positions close to the foothills of the Italian Alps, which was the zone at greatest risk from incursions by the Raeti. The area was rich with *coloniae* settled by veteran soldiers. South of the Po, the *coloniae* of Cremona and Placentia (Piacenza) were already two centuries old when Drusus assumed his command, while Mutina (Modena) had been founded over a century-and-a-half and Verona just five decades earlier. To these the *princeps* added new settlements north of the Po at Augusta Praetoria (Aosta) and Augusta Taurinorum (Turin) in the mid-20s BCE. On the Adriatic coast was Aquilea (Aquileia), a colony of Romans founded in 181 BCE. There were also chartered cities, *municipia*, like Feltria (Feltre), Mediolanum (Milan) and Ticinum (Pavia), which were home to affluent communities of landowners and traders. From these

cities, the many smaller towns and villages, as well as the surrounding countryside, the Roman army found willing volunteers (*volones*) in search of a regular paypacket, the spoils of war and a grant of land to work on in their retirement years.⁸⁴ More than 61 per cent of the troops in Drusus' day came from Italia so it could be said that he was truly leading his own countrymen to war.⁸⁵

Inexperienced as he was on his arrival, he could count on the men who led the legions under his command. Hand-picked by his stepfather these men were his deputies, *legati*, who held Augustus' delegated powers of *imperium*. In their forties and fifties, they served a term of three years with any given legion. Coming from the senatorial class, many having served terms as *praetor*, they were well educated and at least the social and intellectual equals of Drusus.⁸⁶ Each legate was responsible for an organization of some 6,000 men. His second in command was a *tribunus laticlavius*, so named on account of the broad purple stripe on his senatorial toga.⁸⁷ Men in this position were rotated quickly as their next career move was as *quaestor* back in Rome or in one of the provinces. Later in life they might return to the army as legates of their own legions. Third in seniority was the *praefectus castrorum*, a new rank introduced under Augustus, and a true army career position.⁸⁸ This senior officer was responsible for the operational management of the camp – the structural aspects of the installations including the ramparts, sanitation and the hospital, and in addition the maintenance of the artillery and supervision of a staff of weapons trainers.⁸⁹ When the legion marched, the *praefectus* was responsible for the baggage train (*impedimenta*).⁹⁰ During a siege he directed operations as the artillery was under his command.⁹¹ Next in the command structure were five junior officers from the *ordo equestris* called *tribuni angusticlavii*, 'narrow stripe' tribunes, who acted as advisors to the legate or attended to his administrative needs. They supervised security at the camp gates, oversaw physical training, the granaries, the hospital and enforced the law.⁹² In their late teens or early twenties (and as such Drusus' peers), they were likely on their first term of military service on their way up the *cursus honorum*.

The legion was organized around the *centuria*, the basic fighting unit of the Roman army.⁹³ It comprised of ten 'tent parties' (*contubernia*). The eight men in a *contubernium* shared a tent nicknamed a *papilio* because when it was folded and rolled up it looked like a chrysalis, but opened up like a butterfly with wings outspread. Soldiers referred to themselves as

contubernales, roughly translated as ‘messmates’. In total a *centuria* was eighty men strong, not one hundred.⁹⁴ In charge of the century was a *centurio*.⁹⁵ A tough battle hardened officer his badge of rank was a vine staff (*vitis*), which he could use for casual corporal punishment for minor misdemeanours by striking it across the back of a recalcitrant trooper.⁹⁶ He was easily recognisable on the battlefield by his helmet crest of feathers or horsehair, which was mounted transversely from ear to ear. A man of reasonable literacy and with a clean service record might aspire to the centurionate in 15–20 years.⁹⁷ His second in command was the *optio*, a hand picked man chosen or ‘adopted’ at his option.⁹⁸ He stood at the back of the column or at the rear in battle order where he could walk along the line and use his long staff to ensure any man showing signs that he might flee the battle would receive a swift jab in the back. If the *centurio* fell, the *optio* would assume command. Responsible for the watchword and posting the nightwatch was a *tesserarius*, so named because the password was written down on a small slither of wood or shard of pottery (*tessera*). The men below the rank of centurion but above the common soldiery were called *principales*, and they enjoyed better rates of pay than the regular troops.⁹⁹

The Romans fully understood the power of images and symbols. Each *centuria* had its own military standard (*signum*), which was imbued with spiritual significance as the men who marched under it believed it to personify the *esprit de corps* (*genius*) of their unit. The *signum* was a pole eight to ten feet long often surmounted by a leaf-shaped spearhead or a wreath encircling an outstretched hand of silver or silvered bronze. Below was a cross bar from which hung leather strips decorated with metal terminals, discs of silver or silvered bronze, numbering two to as many as eight, attached in a row down the pole. A domed cap protected the standard bearer’s (*signifier*) hands since it was uncomfortable to carry for protracted periods. The base of the *signum* was pointed so it could be stuck in the ground, while two asymmetric handles projected out from the sides so that it could be retracted. The *signum* was used to relay commands by a series of up and down or circular moves and was used in conjunction with the sound of a horn (*cornu*) played by a *cornicen*. This curved bronze instrument was carried over the shoulder on the march. Both *signifier* and *cornicen* were distinguished by the animal pelts – typically wolf or bear – they customarily wore over their helmets and shoulders. These officers were assistants to the centurion and were responsible for

maintaining accurate records of the number and activities of their men for use by the legate's staff, and the *signifier* acted as the banker for the men of the *centuria*.¹⁰⁰

Six such centuries formed a *cohors* of 480 men.¹⁰¹ There were nine cohorts of this size, but an additional double-strength First Cohort brought the full roster of active troops to 5,280.¹⁰² Each cohort had a tiered centurionate whose titles recalled the old citizen army of the days of the Republic.¹⁰³ The most senior of these was the *centurio pilum prior*, followed by the *princeps prior* and the *hastatus prior*, then the *centurio pilum posterior*, *princeps posterior* and *hastatus posterior*.¹⁰⁴ A wing (*ala*) of 120 mounted cavalry, recruited from among the regular soldiers, couriered mail, provided scouts for intelligence gathering and formed a ceremonial guard detail for the legate.¹⁰⁵ Counting in senior officers, centurionate and *principales*, a legion at full strength numbered nearly 6,000 men. Hence, Drusus' army for the campaign numbered anywhere up to 24,000 men of the legions to which should be added hundreds of non-combatant slaves and freedmen of the officers and men and various civilian sutlers (*lixae*) who followed the army wherever it went – men, women and children – who dealt in slaves and provided personal services.¹⁰⁶

The centurion (plate 8) in charge of the First Cohort – and the most important centurion of the legion – was the *centurio primus pilus*. He was a man of great prestige and strong character borne of years in the armed service and served in the post for a year.¹⁰⁷ He and his *prior* and *posterior* centurions were collectively called *primi ordines*, 'first lines' – a reference to the location of their tents or houses in camp since they were ranged in a row in front of the tents or barracks of their centuries.¹⁰⁸ By his side marched the bearer of the eagle standard (*aquilifer*). The gold or gilded bronze eagle (*aquila*), perched at the top of the eight or ten-foot long pole with its wings extended upwards, was often ringed with a wreath of golden laurel leaves, while its talons clasped a thunderbolt. Seeing the eagles of the legions under his command for the first time Drusus would surely have been reminded of the solemn moment when his brother recovered the standards lost at Carrhae.

From Augustus' time, the portrait (*imago*) of the *princeps* was carried on a pole by an *imaginifer*.¹⁰⁹ It was to the *princeps* that new recruits (*probati*) swore an oath of loyalty (*sacramentum*).¹¹⁰ The *imago* was a constant reminder of the commander-in-chief.¹¹¹ The ranks of Drusus' legions were filled with regular soldiers (*milites*) who, at enrollment, had to be at least 17 years

of age.¹¹² Essential to passing their examination (*probation*) recruiters picked men in good health, single and in good standing as Roman citizens.¹¹³ At this date, they signed up for a term of sixteen years' service with four as reservists (*evocati*, meaning 'called out').¹¹⁴ If called up, *evocati* formed their own detachment (*vexillum*) under a *curator*.¹¹⁵ Thereafter they were discharged honourably (*honesta missio*) and retired as *veterani* able to take up full citizen rights.

From the stores (*armamentaria*) under the care of the *custos armorum* each soldier (*miles gregarius*) was equipped with a full kit of armour and equipment. Several designs of helmet (*cassis*, *galea*) were in use at this time made of bronze or iron.¹¹⁶ Some designs drew on models developed by Rome's Italian enemies and allies, featuring a conical shape, short neck guard and cheekplates.¹¹⁷ The use of a newer design inspired by Gallic Celtic models, featuring a brow guard that protected the wearer from downward slashing cuts at the front and a deeper neck guard, became more widespread during the Augustan period.¹¹⁸ Both styles were in use in a variety of individual styles according to the skill of the armourer, some highly decorated with raised rivet washers and brass or bronze trims, others without. Contrary to common belief, the wide cheekplates actually allowed visibility across a wide view. They were tied with a leather thong that ran past one side of the neck, through a ring underneath the neck guard, and back around the other side of the wearer's neck, and tied off under the chin to securely fasten it to the head.

By this time, for the *miles gregarius* defensive body armour had been largely standardized as a ring or chain mail shirt (*lorica hamata*, plate 9) with shoulder doubling to protect the wearer from cuts and blows.¹¹⁹ It was worn over a basic, oversize tunic (*tunica*) of wool or linen with a neckerchief (*focale*) to prevent chafing. Surviving fragments of chain mail show the extraordinary craft of ancient armourers who fashioned circular links as small as one centimetre (0.39 inches), then punched holes through the flattened ends and riveted them together. Each riveted link was attached to punched rings in the rows above and below.¹²⁰ Centurions and *principales* such as *signiferi* and *cornicines* might wear shirts made of scales (*lorica squamata*, plate 10) worn over an arming doublet of leather or linen with decorative strips (*pteriges*) that protruded from the upper arms and waist.¹²¹ The legate and his immediate team of senior officers could afford to buy anatomical cuirasses fashioned out of sheet bronze to look like the defined muscular body of an

athlete.¹²²

A new kind of armour was being introduced at the time of Drusus' campaign. This was an articulated segmented plate armour (plate 11).¹²³ The design comprised of several curved plates of iron or steel riveted to leather straps on the inside, allowing the plates to slide over the ones below.¹²⁴ Two top half assemblies of overlapping plates attached together over the shoulders with buckled straps at the back and chest, from which hung two transverse halves that wrapped around the chest and abdomen like a steel corset, similarly attached by straps or hooks and loops.¹²⁵ The oldest known fragments of this segmented armour were found in Dangstetten, Baden-Württemberg and dated to 9 BCE, though other pieces have been identified at Strasbourg, France and Windisch, Switzerland.¹²⁶ The finds were of a type that used double-riveted buckles attached to leather straps. The complete assembly provided complete protection from the shoulders down to the waist while still allowing considerable freedom of movement. It also offers excellent protection from both slashing and piercing weapons such as spears, whereas mail is better suited to deflecting sword blows. The development of the new armour may in fact have been driven by the need to better protect Roman troops being exposed to opponents in the north of Europe who used spears and clubs rather than the slashing swords in widespread use among Gallic and Iberian enemies.

Around the waist, the legionary wore a heavy single or double military belt (*balteus*) decorated with riveted metal plates that often featured enamelled detail.¹²⁷ From it several protective leather and metal strips hung down like a sporran (*cingulum*) over the genitals.¹²⁸ It was the only protection for body parts below the waist. From the *balteus* a scabbard hung on the right side for a leaf-shaped dagger (*pugio*).¹²⁹ The legionary's primary weapon, however, was the double-edged *gladius hispaniensis*, which hung on a separate baldric usually from the left shoulder to the right side. Several have been found at sites across Europe and they vary subtly in shape and size. Widely used in Drusus' time was the so-called 'Mainz type' which was 69cm long and 6cm wide. A handle of bone or wood fitted over the tang and a large spherical pommel of wood or ivory assisted with counter-balancing the weapon.¹³⁰ The width of the blade by the handguard end was wider than the middle section and both edges curved slightly inward along its length before tapering to a sharp point. It was primarily a stabbing and thrusting weapon intended to puncture the fleshy parts of the

body – neck, armpits and abdomen – in the manner of a bayonet, but it could be used to slash and fence as required by circumstances.

The largest piece of equipment the legionary owned was a shield (*scutum*). At the time of Drusus' campaign, the shield was transitioning from the curved ovaloid shape favoured by Marius and Caesar to a squarer design.¹³¹ In the new version the curved top and bottom edge of the shield was sliced off. This may have been done to improve visibility for battle tactics such as shield walls or portability and manoeuvrability in the tortoise formation (*testudo*). In the *testudo*, men in the front rank raised their shields and formed a continuous wall, while those behind lifted and interlocked theirs above their heads to form a shield roof.¹³² The curved shape of the *scutum* meant it could be wrapped around the body and pulled in close to protect the entire front from eyes to the knees. This posture was necessary when retracting the *gladius* from its scabbard, which hung from the wearer's right side, requiring the scabbard to be steadied and the right hand inverted to withdraw the weapon. The shield was held by a central handgrip with the left hand, which was protected by a domed metal boss (*umbo*), allowing a full range of manoeuvres.¹³³ It was made of a relatively light but durable type of plywood in which layers of strips of wood were glued together, each layer laid in a different direction.¹³⁴ Linen or a thin cover of leather was glued on the outer face and then painted with thunderbolts, wings, or laurel leaves according to the chosen emblem of the legion. On the march the shield was wrapped in a protective cover, often with the name of the unit stitched into it, and carried using a leather strap across the right shoulder, freeing the left arm to carry a pole from which hung the soldier's tools and personal belongings (plate 12).¹³⁵

On enlistment, the new legionary went through a rigorous programme of basic training in marching, running, jumping and swimming, battle formations, swordsmanship and horse riding.¹³⁶ Drill was conducted under the watchful eye and hoarse voice of the *campidoctor*. Weapons training (*armature*) was supervised by the *doctor armorum*, first in the use of the *gladius* with a double weighted wooden sword to develop technique and arm strength, and then with the real thing.¹³⁷ Next, training followed in throwing the *pilum*, the legionary's trademark javelin, featuring a slender iron shank with a sharp pyramid-shaped point, attached by an iron collar, iron rivets and a wooden pin to a wooden shaft.¹³⁸ On impact it pierced the opponent's flesh causing injury or death; or if it pierced his

protective wooden shield, the weight of the wooden shaft bent the narrow iron shank or broke it off at the collar so it could not be thrown back, rendering the opponent's equipment unusable.

From the first century BCE the Romans employed local allied tribes (*socii*, *foederati*) to support their legions on campaign. Iulius Caesar made extensive use of such auxiliary troops (*auxilia*) both on campaign in Tres Galliae (58–50 BCE) as well as during the Civil War (49–45 BCE).¹³⁹ They continued in the service of Rome as a permanent part of the army in Drusus' day.¹⁴⁰ Auxiliaries provided a variety of specialist skills required for specific theatres of war, such as archers (*sagittarii*) with powerful composite bows from Crete and irregular troops from the Balearic Islands with deadly accurate slings (*funditores*) to throw leaden slingshot (*glandes*). The auxiliaries' basic equipment – helmets, body armour, shields – did not differ greatly from that of the legionaries at this period but many would have brought with them much of their own panoply of arms – bows, slings, spears and swords – that distinguished their mode of combat. Particularly valued for their skills were cavalry from Gallia and Germania who were known as fine horsemen. They were used as advance skirmishers (*procursores*) and scouts (*exploratores*) for intelligence gathering as well as shock troops.¹⁴¹ Auxiliary cavalry were organised into *alae* of 512 or 768 sub-divided into 16 or 24 *turmae* respectively.¹⁴² A *turma* was commanded by a *decurio* and assisted by a *duplicarius*. Auxiliary infantry were organised into cohorts (*cohors peditata milliaria*) sub-divided into ten *centuriae* of 80 men for a total of 800, not a thousand.¹⁴³ The *Cohors II Tungrorum*, for example, was recruited from among men of the Tungri nation living near the Arduenna Silva (Ardennes Forest) of Gallia Belgica.¹⁴⁴ They were trained to the same high standards as legionaries and, like their legionary counterparts, their centuries were led by *centurions* and *optiones* and they marched under their own *signa* borne aloft by *signiferi*. A *tribunus cohortis* commanded the entire unit. Mixed units (*cohors equitata quingenaria*) comprised of six *centuriae* of infantry plus four *turmae* of cavalry for a total of 608 men, commanded by a *praefectus cohortis*.¹⁴⁵ They were often deployed for local garrison and police duties. Such a unit recruited from among the Ubii is known from an inscription dating to Tiberius' reign.¹⁴⁶ Which units were assigned to Drusus' command are not revealed in the extant records, but it is almost certain they were a key part of his expeditionary force.

Before embarking on the campaign, Drusus led his army in a purification rite (*lustratio*).¹⁴⁷ Such a scene is one of the first to

be depicted on Trajan's Column in which the commander sits on a dais with his senior officers before the assembled army to watch the proceedings.¹⁴⁸ Below, the officiating priest, wearing his toga respectfully covering his head, says a prayer and pours a libation from a small round bowl onto the flames of the altar erected for the purpose. Behind, yet prominently on view, the massed standards of the army stand upright together to receive the blessings. The officers then rise and to the accompaniment of music from the straight trumpet (*tuba*) and curved horn (*cornu*), a pig, bull and a ram bedecked in sacred dressings have their throats ritually slit in the solemn *suovetaurilia* by men who are stripped to their waists.¹⁴⁹ It was a ceremony performed almost unchanged for centuries before battle by Rome's armies. With the religious rite concluded, and the goodwill of the gods secured, Drusus then addressed his men directly from the dais in an *adlocutio*. Standing on the raised platform he cut an imposing figure in his full military panoply (plate 13) of polished bronze, anatomically modelled cuirass (*thorax stadios*) with a ribbon decorously tied across the abdomen over an arming doublet (*subarmile*) edged with *pteriges*; a Greek-style *parazonium* sword hung from a baldric on his left side favoured by officers, and silvered greaves upon his legs; a crested Attic helmet tucked under his arm and with his commander's cloak (*paludamentum*) draped flamboyantly over his left shoulder and forearm.¹⁵⁰ This was his moment to harangue his men. Assembled in one place on the eve of the campaign he called upon them to abide by the oath they had sworn to fulfill the orders of their officers; belittled their enemy with disparaging remarks, and urged his men to fight bravely to bring glory to their country and their gods.¹⁵¹ It was one of the few times he would be able to communicate directly with his men on his own terms and in so doing create a lasting impression that he was no mere privileged boy, but a man worthy of their respect.

Bellum Alpinum

The Romans named this military offensive the *Bellum Alpinum* (the Alpine War) or the *Bellum Noricum* (the Norican War).¹⁵² Our best source of information on the war is Cassius Dio but his account is cryptic at best and was written three centuries later.¹⁵³ Velleius Paterculus and Florus, who were contemporary with events, add some important details. Frustratingly the ancient sources omit key information such as how many units Drusus led, which ones, and where they departed from. Modern historians still debate the actual route of the invading army and

the discussion is hampered by the paucity of facts.¹⁵⁴ The written sources are a jumble of names of tribes and locations making a precise timeline difficult to construct and a starting point hard to identify with any certainty.¹⁵⁵ We do know that Drusus started in the south/southeastern region of the Alps: he engaged the Carni as well as certain tribes of the Norici, among them the Taurisci, and in so doing made safe the area around the city of Aquileia and its important port on the Adriatic Sea.¹⁵⁶ He also encountered the Breuni, Genauni and the Ucenni nations, which were believed to be Illyrian in origin, suggesting they settled closest to Illyricum on the southern or southeastern lowland approaches to the Alps.¹⁵⁷ Lastly, the surviving milestones of the *via Claudia Augusta* (the route of which connected Altinum, near present day Venice, to the River Danube) specifically acknowledge the debt to Drusus (fig. 1) “which his [Emperor Claudius’] father had made passable after the opening up of the Alps by war”.¹⁵⁸ From a logistical point of view it makes sense that Drusus would first deal with the problem on the coast and then move inland.

In planning the campaign Drusus would have relied on the counsel of his *concilium*, a leadership team consisting of the *legati*, tribunes, centurions of the *primi ordines* as well as the *praefecti* of his auxiliary units.¹⁵⁹ He would have looked to them to advise on strategic and tactical matters, especially in the light of new intelligence brought to him by his scouts who were positioned well in advance of the main column.¹⁶⁰ They would have also discussed ploys to confuse and confound their opponent to gain a tactical advantage.¹⁶¹ As Augustus’ representative imbued with his *imperium*, Drusus’ decision was final; but his ability to listen and engage his officers would win their trust and loyalty. In this he succeeded. Velleius Paterculus describes Drusus as

VIA·M·CLAVDIA·M·AVG·VSTAM
QVAM·DRVSVS·PATER·ALPIBVS·
BELLO·PATEFACTIS·DEREXSERAT

Figure 1: Inscription from a milestone of the *via Claudia Augusta* credits Drusus' war for opening up the Alps and enabling the road to be built.

a youth of as many and as great virtues as human nature can cherish, or industry acquire; and whose genius it is doubtful whether it was better adapted for the arts of war or of peace.¹⁶²

His abilities were complemented by an affable and engaging personality and “his sweet and engaging manners, his courteous and unassuming demeanour towards his friends, are said to have been inimitable”.¹⁶³ In the ensuing campaign, however, he would need to prove his competence as a military leader and toughness as a warfighter.

Alpine Celtic Forces

The opponents Drusus faced were tough and no strangers to warfare. Yet despite their proximity, the Romans appeared to know little about the Raeti. They were first mentioned by Polybius writing in the second century BCE.¹⁶⁴ They were not mentioned again until Livy, who was writing his great history of Rome at the time of Drusus’ campaign and who asserted that the Raeti were actually of Etruscan origin.¹⁶⁵ The genesis story held that they were a community of Etruscans who had settled in the plains of the Po River and were driven into the mountains by invading Gauls, where they adopted the name of their leader Raetus. The people of the Reschen and Inn Valleys certainly absorbed cultural aspects from the Etruscans who had founded cities on the Po plain to the south beginning in the sixth century BCE and imported large bronze vessels bearing images of sacrificial ceremonies. Even if the Raeti were originally related to the Etruscans, by the time of the war with the Romans they were well integrated with the indigenous Celts. The arrival of Iron Age Celts in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE exposed the valley people to new cultural traits. Along their western border lived the Helvetii, on their northwestern the Vindelici, on their northeastern the Norici, all of whom are defined as ‘Celtic’ peoples of the La Tène culture by modern historians.¹⁶⁶ The Alps defined their identity – indeed, Livy blamed the very wildness of their territory for barbarising their behaviour.¹⁶⁷ When not engaged in predatory expeditions against their neighbours, they supported themselves by breeding cattle, producing dairy products and felling trees for timber. Several of the valleys they inhabited were rich and fertile producing corn and other agricultural commodities, and they traded their surplus of cheese, honey, pitch, resin and wax.¹⁶⁸

The Raeti likely shared the same social characteristics as their neighbours. Celtic societies were hierarchical and headed by a non-hereditary king (*ri*, *rigon*), chieftain (*regulus*) or clan chief or

magistrate (*vergobretos*) who ruled *with* the aristocracy.¹⁶⁹ Below the aristocracy, three groups of men were regarded with great honour among the Iron Age Celts.¹⁷⁰ The Bards were singers of songs and poems who enthralled their audiences with tales of heroism and valour.¹⁷¹ The *Vates* were diviners, men who predicted the future and dealt with matters of natural philosophy.¹⁷² Lastly the Druids were the magistrates and arbitrators in disputes between members of the community and even interceded on the eve of battle in an attempt to avoid bloodshed by resolving the conflict peacefully.¹⁷³ They also supervised sacrifices, both private and public. Binding later Irish and Welsh Celtic societies, which serve as useful analogues for the Raetian of whom next to nothing is known, was customary law under which each man knew his place and obligations to his kin.¹⁷⁴

The chief – or king – was supported by a warrior class of nobles, personal retainers and freemen who in turn could be clients or vassals of other freemen.¹⁷⁵ These clients fought for him and accompanied him as he commanded and, in return, the senior man protected him in times of need, but the bond could be broken by mutual agreement. Below the nobles the great number of largely disenfranchised common people, who could be called upon to fight at will, existed as bondsmen in near servitude.¹⁷⁶ Prowess in fighting was highly valued by all levels of Celtic society, which idolised the heroic war fighter and mythologised its heroes in epic tales. Echoes of these have come down to us as the Irish *Táin Bó Cúalnge* (“The Raid of Cúalnge”) and Welsh *Mabinogi* (“Tales of a Hero’s Boyhood”).¹⁷⁷ A Celtic boy grew up amongst men who celebrated their exploits in war, practiced continually and competed for honour and esteem in the eyes of his peers, and listened to epic songs sung by the bards. There were probably wide differences in the way Raetian warriors were equipped reflecting their means and social backgrounds. In common they wore trousers, tunics and cloaks.¹⁷⁸ Their garments could be brightly coloured, their cloaks (*sagi*) could be striped or chequered, and they wore gold and silver belts and jewelry ostentatiously.¹⁷⁹ Tunics and trousers (*bracae*) were made of wool and brightly coloured such as the striped trousers worn by a certain Viridomarus.¹⁸⁰ The Celts farmed a breed of sheep that produced coarse wool (*laenae*) that was “flocky on the surface” and rough to the skin.¹⁸¹ They preferred large split tunics with long sleeves, though their *bracae* could be tight fitting.¹⁸²

The Celtic flair for colour and ingenious design was reflected

in their protective equipment, such as their cuirasses and chain mail shirts.¹⁸³ Able to withstand slashing cuts and glancing blows from swords chain mail armour is widely believed to have been a Celtic invention dating to around 300 BCE (plate 14). A fragment from Ciumesti, Romania survives still with its chest fastener intact.¹⁸⁴ Mail using both butted links and alternate punched and riveted rings was in use by Raetian warriors, either through their own manufacture or from trading with neighbours – or taking it from the dead as it was surely among the much sought-after spoils by the victorious in battle. But it was time-consuming to make and was unsuitable for mass-production using the means and techniques available to village blacksmiths of the day. Thus, it was likely the prized equipment of the warrior aristocracy as they were the only ones in this society who could afford to pay for it. The majority of Celtic warriors actually fought without any protective body armour at all (plate 15).¹⁸⁵ For their primary defence Raetian warfighters relied on their long shields, which were typically made of wooden planks butted together attached to strips on the inside, covered with leather front and back with a leather or a metal trim attached along the edge.¹⁸⁶ Faced with a thin layer of leather they were likely painted in bright colours with dramatic emblems on the front.¹⁸⁷ They varied in size and shape. The specimens from La Tène dated to 250 BCE are 1.1 metres tall but evidence in the form of sculptures such as shown on the Roman triumphal arch at Orange, France suggest 1.3–1.4 metres were in common use in the 50s BCE. Shapes were circular, oval, hexagonal or long rectangles with rounded edges. Examples of shields from La Tène feature an axial spine, which runs down the front centerline, flared to cover a handgrip and protected by a domed boss, which could also be used to turn the shield into an offensive weapon to punch an opponent at close quarters. Celtic shields were gathered up by the victor after battle as much-prized trophies and often dedicated in temples.¹⁸⁸

From their Celtic neighbours, Raetian warriors adopted iron swords and bronze or iron helmets. In the grave field at Pfatten near Bolzano, Italy dated to the fourth-third century BCE, one Raetian man was buried along with his helmet, which survives to this day.¹⁸⁹ The base of the helmet has a diameter of 22.5 centimetres (8.9 inches), with an attached short neck protector at the rear, like the Montefortino helmet. The top of this helmet ends in a knob-like ornament typical of Gallic protective headgear of the time. Attached to this knob of another surviving example of this type of helmet from Ciumesti, Romania is a

bronze bird whose wings are hinged so that they flapped as the rider galloped on his horse.¹⁹⁰ Another iron helmet design from Giubisaco, Ticino, Switzerland, resembles a bowler hat with a wide brim around the entire base.¹⁹¹ A raised ridge above the brim both reinforces the helmet as well as taking the shock of an initial glancing blow to the side of the head. With the large cheekplates attached, the design gave the wearer good protection from strikes to the head without sacrificing forward vision or hearing. These helmets demonstrate the superb talent and innovative craftsmanship of Iron Age metalworkers using basic tools. In fact it was superior to the technical ability of many contemporary Roman armourers who seem to have studied Celtic armour in developing and refining their own.

The most common offensive weapon was the spear or javelin, which Strabo says they called the *madaris* and Diodorus Siculus reports they called the *lancia*.¹⁹² Siculus mentions that it was a cubit and longer in length.¹⁹³ The archaeological evidence confirms a wide range of different types of spears, ranging from ones with broad leaf shape 500 millimetre (19.7 inches) long blades to others with narrower and shorter 100 millimetre (3.9 inches) blades.¹⁹⁴ A spear could be thrown over distance in a volley when joined with other combatants, as well as thrust or swung in a sweeping arc during close-quarters combat.

Those that could afford them – or won them through combat – owned a long iron sword.¹⁹⁵ It was worn in a wooden scabbard hanging from a chain belt on the right side.¹⁹⁶ Surviving examples attest to a very high level of craftsmanship in the forging of the iron. Early swords (450–250 BCE) were typically 0.74 metres (2.4 feet) long but narrow and suited to cutting and thrusting, while the later models (250–50 BCE) were 0.66–0.68 metres (2.17–2.23 feet) long and broader.¹⁹⁷ Both had rounded ends. Polybius notes that the sword was better suited to cutting and not thrusting.¹⁹⁸ By the time of the Alpine and Norican Wars the typical Celtic sword had shrunk to just 0.55–0.57 metres (1.80–1.87 feet) in length but now had a pointed end.¹⁹⁹ The hilt was made by sliding a fashioned bulb of wood or iron over the tang to form the handguard, attaching a length of wood or bone or metal for a handgrip, and a boss or pommel at the top to lock the components in place. A ‘V’-shaped flared pommel with rounded ends was a popular design and was often decorated with molded or engraved detail often picked out in enamel.

Arrows and slings were also part of the Celtic warrior’s armoury.²⁰⁰ Triangular profile tanged arrow heads forged of iron have been found in France including the hill-fort of Alésia and

we know from Caesar's account that Vercingetorix placed archers among his cavalry, presumably to provide covering fire as they approached their opponents.²⁰¹ Slingers hurled moulded clay shot or stones with great accuracy and over short to medium distances with lethal effect.

The Iron Age Celts had earned a formidable reputation for the quality of their horses and horsemanship. Strabo remarks that their cavalry was better than their infantry and on account of their skill they were considered the best mercenary mounted troops Roman money could hire.²⁰² Indeed, knowing a good thing when he saw it, Hannibal employed Celto-Iberian cavalry in his own army against Rome at Cannae in 216 BCE.²⁰³ Iulius Caesar also employed Gallic cavalry throughout his campaigns in the region. There is some debate, however, based on an account by Polybius that Celtic cavalry was actually infantry that arrived on the battlefield on horseback but then dismounted and continued to fight on foot.²⁰⁴ Another hypothesis is that after charging the enemy line and unleashing their weapons Celtic riders sometimes dismounted to rest, but quickly remounted and rode away if they came under direct attack themselves.²⁰⁵ Pausanias the Greek travel writer of the second century CE describes the Galataean cavalry noting that each cavalryman was assisted by two grooms, a combat unit which he calls a *trimacisia* after the Celtic word *marca* for horse.²⁰⁶ The assistants stood ready behind the ranks to provide a fresh horse when their rider returned, and in the event he was wounded or slain in action one groom might take the place of the cavalryman while the other ward carried the fallen warrior back to safety.²⁰⁷ Of course individual warriors and tribes likely developed their own fighting styles which they adapted to circumstances or the competence of their opponents.

Celtic and Roman riders shared a key technology in common and that was the same basic design of saddle. It comprised of a sturdy curved wooden frame over which stout leather panels were stitched together and large pommels in each of the four corners were attached.²⁰⁸ Stirrups were not part of the equipment. Instead by pressing his thighs against the front pommels, the rider was able to sit securely and lean forward or backwards as needed to carry out any required manoeuvre.

Celtic riders took great pride both in their own appearance and that of their animals. Horse harnesses were often decorated with embossed silver discs, or the horse-bits were picked out with rich enamel detail in the fluid artistic style beloved of their culture. For protection, a cavalryman wore a helmet and mail

shirt and carried a flat oval or hexagonal shield. His panoply of offensive weapons was the same as the infantryman's – a spear or lance and a long slashing sword. While cavalry could be deployed in an opening attack, it proved its value when running down footsoldiers fleeing from the battlefield, such as when Celtic mercenaries chased down a force of Arcadians fleeing from the Spartans in the 360s BCE.²⁰⁹ By the time Drusus engaged the Raeti, the use of the two-wheeled chariot on the battlefields of Central Europe, for which the Celts had once been famous, was long a thing of the past.²¹⁰

Flag standards, which hung like Roman *vexilla* – from a cross bar on a spear – as well as animal standards, embroidered with emblems such as a boar, were used to lead bands of warriors into battle.²¹¹ To relay signals and to rouse men's spirits, musicians used an instrument called a *carnyx*, which was a long trumpet with a bell in the form of an animal's head.²¹² The trumpet was held upright so it towered above the instrumentalist and was played both individually and in bands but was noted for its harsh sound.²¹³

Celtic battle tactics of the Alpine tribes were dictated by the landscape as much as by technical skill and involved ambushes and massed cavalry and infantry charges. In the ensuing *melée* men proved their valour and skill in hand-to-hand combat and in this close-up and personal struggle the battle was lost or won. What they lacked in strategy and technology compared to the Roman invaders, they made up for in other ways. Velleius Paterculus, himself a soldier who served with Tiberius, stated that the tough Alpine peoples had much working in their favour, namely the nature of the country, difficulty of access, strength in numbers and the ferocity of their savagery.²¹⁴

Military Operations

Drusus was heading north with his army towards the Alps. Visible and audible for miles, the Raeti had already detected his approach and rallied their forces. A detachment of Raeti warriors was dispatched and engaged him “near the Tridentine mountains” writes Dio.²¹⁵ These mountains were named after the nearby city of Tridentum (Trento).²¹⁶ It was some 230 kilometres (142.9 miles) northwest of Aquileia, and located on the River Adige (Athesis).²¹⁷ The city lay in a wide glacial valley just south of the Dolomites, where the Fersina and Avisio rivers join the Adige. Ridges of mountains majestically surround the valley, three of them each over 2,000 metres (6,561.7 feet) high.²¹⁸ From their steep slopes and the cover of trees and

bushes the Raetian warriors launched their attacks using height and cover to their advantage to throw spears or roll rocks down upon the invader (plate 16). To frighten their enemy and make their numbers seem larger and more threatening and embolden the spirits of the defenders, Celtic fighters exploited the terror induced by noise. They shouted war cries and sang songs with unsettling melodies and rhythms or songs of victory (*ululates*).²¹⁹ As they chanted, the warriors beat their weapons against their shields and their trumpeters and horn players sounded harsh, discordant blasts on their *carnyxes*. The cacophony echoed menacingly across the valley floor. Some men leapt and waved their spears as they shouted in their excitement or agitation. The standard bearers lifted up their emblems high in the air so that their comrades could see them. When the signal was given, the warriors charged down the hillside hoping to overwhelm their opponent using speed and momentum to their fullest advantage.

On the march the Roman army moved in columns (*acies*), with legions marching in parallel or a single long line, depending on the perceived threat level.²²⁰ Between 35 and 11 kilometres (27.7 and 6.8 miles) or up to 3 hour's ride ahead of the main body, *exploratores* carried out reconnaissance duties (*exploratio*).²²¹ They would normally be the first to detect hostile activity and report back to the commander with their field intelligence. Drusus could then quickly analyse the situation, consider his options and issue the orders to respond and line up ready for battle. The relatively wide valley floor below suited the Roman mode of fighting and it allowed the commander to deploy his legionary *cohortes* and mounted *alae* as well as auxiliary cohorts in any of several well-rehearsed battle formations. The Romans had perfected a tactical doctrine developed over years of combat with a host of different enemies that combined the weight of massed formations with the balletic precision of individual war fighters (*bellatores*). Flawless execution was achieved through a rigidly enforced cult of discipline (*disciplina*) and unquestioning obedience (*obsequium*) to commands.²²² On the battlefield, a legion typically deployed its cohorts in two rows of five (*duplex acies*).²²³ The first cohort took up its position in the far right front row, with cohorts two to five in sequence to its left, while cohort six stood ready behind it, with cohorts seven through ten standing to its left. If space was confined, such as in a narrow pass, a legion could deploy in three rows (*triplex acies*).²²⁴ The legionary cavalry would normally occupy the left and right wings. If used, auxiliary units might be deployed in front of the legion as at Mons Graupius in

84 CE where they won the battle even before the regular legionaries – whose cohorts were arranged in a single row (*acies simplex*) standing in reserve – could get a taste of blood.²²⁵

If the Romans' front line had failed to deflect the Raeti, the attack would next be borne by the main body. Time allowing, Drusus would have spoken to his troops by riding past their ordered lines and addressing the different units in turn. Speaking to the men before battle was normal practice for a commander to exhort the men and instil confidence as Caesar did at Thapsus in 46 BCE.²²⁶ Typically commanders addressed their troops as 'comrades' (*commilitiones*) but Suetonius records that Augustus felt the term "to convey the idea of a degree of condescension inconsistent with military discipline, the maintenance of order and his own majesty, and that of his house" preferring to call them instead 'soldiers' (*milites*) and he insisted that his stepsons who held military commands follow suit.²²⁷ Then the order for battle was given by the calls of the officers with a shrill flourish of the bronze instruments of the *cornicen*es and precise and practiced motioning of the glittering standards of the *signifer*i.

It was the moment Roman soldiers trained for. A legionary carried both a light and heavy *pilum*. In open order, he was trained to throw these in volleys as the enemy approached. Throwing the *pila en masse* increased the probability of kill over an uncoordinated 'firing at will'. Once unleashed, a legionary closed ranks and lined up with his *commilitiones* in a wedge formation (*cuneus*). Each was responsible for the safety of his *frater* beside him. The legionaries would unsheath their *gladii*, raise their curved shields up to eye-level to protect their upper bodies, and charge. The momentum of the massed formation of wood and iron and the speed of the charge would smash through a disorganised enemy line. In the ensuing hand to hand combat the legionary used the domed shield boss to punch his opponent and the *gladius* as a bayonet to thrust forward and up, aiming for the chest or armpit, belly or groin. The *mêlée* was noisy as men shouted and trumpets sounded; claustrophobic as the men behind pushed forward the men in front; and terrifying as sharpened steel sliced and thrust at every turn. Discipline was the Romans' password to victory. The Raetian warriors fought with fire in their hearts and courage in their spirits, thrusting their spears and slashing with their long swords. Men on both sides suffered horrible wounds. Unless pulled free and attended to, those not killed outright would be left to writhe in agonizing pain or to be trampled beneath the feet of men and hooves of horses and to bleed to death. The foul stench of blood and gore

as men opened their bowels in shock and desperation quickly filled the air. A Roman soldier who fell might be quickly decapitated and his bloodied head carried away by his Celtic slayer for bragging rights.²²⁸ Severed heads were literally worth their weight in gold.²²⁹ Yet, despite their advantages of terrain, greater numbers and steely courage, the relatively lightly armed fighters of Raetia were finally no match for the soldiers of Rome and their confident attack quickly turned into a rout.²³⁰ Casualties are not disclosed in the extant sources.

This was Drusus' first victory. He must have thrilled at the thought of it and relived it many times in those first weeks of campaigning. But there was little time to celebrate. Drusus may have won a battle, but there was a war to win. Drusus then gave the order to march north following the direction of the valley. Some 60 kilometres (37.3 miles) north of Tridentum the valley divides into two passes known today as the Brenner and Reschen Passes. Drusus may have split his forces here.²³¹ The course of the future *via Claudia Augusta* (fig 1), however, suggests Drusus chose the Reschen Pass (Passo di Resia or Reschen-Scheideck), which was formed by the waters of the Adige (Etsch) River.²³² The alternative route via the Brenner Pass is comparatively the less steep at 1,370 metres (4,494.8 feet) above sea level at its highest and the easiest of the few accessible Alpine passes, but it is narrower for much of its length.²³³

The Reschen Pass rises over the Main chain of the Alps connecting the Inn River valley in the northwest with the Tyrolean Vinschgau Valley – in Italian called Val Venosta after the local tribe of Venostes – in the southwest.²³⁴ Conveniently for Drusus an ancient path or trackway followed the route along the course of the Adige River trodden by generations of travellers for part of the journey (map 2). Drusus was the first Roman to establish a permanent crossing over the Adige at the place which henceforth became known as Pons Drusi – 'Drusus' Bridge' – nowadays called Bolzano.²³⁵ From this point to the foothills of the Schwäbisch-Bayerisches Alpenvorland, the Reschen Pass forms a navigable, meandering corridor of approximately 160 Roman miles along which it was possible to move men and matériel.²³⁶ At Merano the pass swings southwest but the elevation suddenly rises from approximately 350 metres (1,148.3 feet) to 750 metres (2,460.6 feet) at Silandro (Schlanders). The pass then swings north but begins to narrow as it rises to the highest point at Reschen, 1,504 metres (4,934.4 feet) above sea level. While the Pass on the southern side was wide and smooth for most of its length – ideal for marching

legionaries and their pack animals – the northern side had a narrow and steep bottleneck, nowadays called the Finstermünzpaß (1,188 metres, 3,897.6 feet elevation), which would dramatically slow down their advance. However, having reached the highest point, Drusus' advance would be expedited by the 64 kilometre (39.8 miles) downward descent towards Imst. At that point, the route then veers steeply up again towards Fernpass, rising 400 metres (1,312.3 feet) to its peak at 1,212 metres (3,976.4 feet) in just 12 kilometres (7.5 miles) distance. Indeed, Polybius characterised all the passes traversing the Alps as “excessively precipitous”.²³⁷ Here Drusus may have divided his forces into two with one following the course of the Inn River (Aenus) and the other tracking the Lech (Licates, Licus).

Roman troops faced the ascent up the valleys and crossing their streams without the benefit of military roads and bridges. Hobnailed boots often slipped on the rocky ground and grass when wet; and laden down with 30 kilogrammes (66.1 pounds) or more of arms, armour and heavy equipment on their shoulders and backs, the steep slopes would have been exhausting work for the Roman infantry. It would have been particularly challenging for the carts (*vehicula*), which hauled the supplies essential to provisioning the army.²³⁸ An army on campaign could only carry enough food for about 15 days and it was expected to forage from the local surroundings to supplement and replenish supplies.²³⁹ To haul provisions, heavy equipment and the artillery the Roman army relied on vehicles with iron-rimmed wheels. They used the two-wheeled wagon pulled by oxen (*plaustrum*), the two-wheeled cart pulled by mules, and the four-wheeled wagon drawn by mules (*carrus*).²⁴⁰ Mules were also used to carry *contubernium* tents.²⁴¹ While all animals could feed off the land to some extent, quantities of fodder nevertheless had to be carried. One estimate is that an *ala* with 560 horses each required between 560 (1,234.7 pounds) and 1,680 kilogrammes (3,703.8 pounds) of barley, and 5,600 kilogrammes (12,345.9 pounds) of hay each year.²⁴² Carrying this volume by wagon or pack animal was impractical, so wherever possible river transportation was used to ship provisions and matériel. A four-wheeled wagon could carry between 430 kilogrammes (948.0 pounds) and 650 kilogrammes (1,433.0 pounds) of product compared to 35 metric tonnes in a small flat-bottomed barge measuring 20–34 metres (65.6–111.5 feet) long and 3–4.5 metres (9.8–14.8 feet) wide.²⁴³ The ability to use river craft on the Adige for at least part of the journey

may have swayed Drusus' decision to take the Reschen rather than the Brenner Pass.²⁴⁴

How large a population inhabited the Alps at this time is not known because the archaeological record is so sparse. The written record of the classical authors is almost all that we have to go on. The recurring theme in the extant Roman accounts is the savagery of the Alpine nations, though this may only be a stereotype of behaviour they, and their readers, expected of uncivilized 'barbarians' so it may not be entirely accurate. As the Romans advanced the Raeti likely took to higher ground or retreated up the Pass and resorted to ever more desperate measures. When they used up their arsenals, records Florus, the women used their own children as weapons, smashing their heads against the ground and flinging their limp bodies at the approaching Romans.²⁴⁵ Notwithstanding their alleged ferocity, Drusus' army systematically subdued them. To secure their gains and to establish a line of bi-directional communications, troops were stationed at intervals along the route of the Roman advance. In 1999 traces of a barn belonging to a poststation of the imperial courier service (*cursus publicus*) were discovered in the Wiese northeast of Biberwier near Lermoos in sight of the spectacular Zugspitze, modern Germany's highest mountain at 2,962 metres (9,717.8 feet).²⁴⁶

Beyond Füssen the descent was steady. In just a few weeks, Drusus' troops were able to emerge into the foothills of the Schwäbisch-Bayerisches Alpenvorland (plate 17). Drusus may have reported back by courier or in person to Augustus in Lugdunum with news of his swift victory. Receiving the news, Augustus was suitably impressed by his stepson's achievement and promptly rewarded Drusus with the official rank of *praetor*, which entitled him to a bodyguard of six lictors.²⁴⁷ He had proved himself able to command an army in the field and deliver victory on demand. Having defeated the Raeti and ensuring they had been "repulsed from Italia" that may have been as far as Augustus initially wanted to take military operations for the time being.²⁴⁸ However, the Raeti were not to be kept down and they continued with their incursions, this time spilling into neighbouring Gallia Comata. The very strategy designed to quell the Raeti, perhaps, had had the unintended consequence of displacing them. It was becoming "a difficult war".²⁴⁹ Augustus was in no mood to compromise and ordered a complete subjugation of the Raetic people. He dispatched his eldest stepson with an army from Gaul and orders to assist his brother in squashing the unruly Alpine nations once and for all.²⁵⁰

In Gaul Tiberius was already mobilising the legions under his command – likely the I, XVII, XVIII and XIX – for transfer from Aquitania to the Rhine at the time, but was ordered to divert them to deal with the continuing Raetian menace. The name of his legate in charge of *Legio* XIX is known to have been P. Quinctilius Varus.²⁵¹ Now thirty-one years of age, Varus had succeeded in impressing Augustus and this was his first major military leadership position. At the head of this tactical land force Tiberius likely approached from Lugdunum following the course of the River Rhône (Rhodanus) or the Jura Mountains, and in so doing succeeded in securing the Alpes Poeninae and the important road that traversed it. In parts the route between the Jura and Rhodanus was particularly perilous. In the *Commentaries on the Gallic War*, Iulius Caesar wrote of passages narrowing to such an extent that wagons could move only in single file or a few men could pass at a time.²⁵² Tiberius may have split his troops and taken the Rhine route via Walensee, or additionally the Valais over the Furka Pass.²⁵³ Meanwhile Drusus' men marched from their positions in the Voralpenland to the source of the Rhine or followed the Danube to its source.²⁵⁴ The Roman accounts imply a co-ordinated strategy preagreed between the two Claudius Nero brothers. Following the valleys of the Alps the brothers closed in on the enemy, picking one tribe off at a time. Velleius Paterculus talks of the brothers attacking the Raeti and Vindelici “on different sides”.²⁵⁵ Dio writes “both leaders then invaded Raetia at many points simultaneously, either in person or through their deputies”.²⁵⁶ Some commentators interpret this as a pincer movement inferring some final target, but in practice their movements were dictated by the landscape of valleys and passes (map 3). The theatre of war now encompassed a wide area and many modes of combat. They fought in pitched battles that saw few Roman casualties, but heavy losses among their opponents.²⁵⁷ Rivers and lakes posed few obstacles to the eager generals. When Tiberius reached a major lake, which may have been Lake Geneva, rather than march his men around the shoreline, he took the shortest route.²⁵⁸ He ordered his men to construct boats with which they launched an audacious amphibious operation to reach the other side. Attacked both on land and lake, the Raetian resistance faltered and finally collapsed.

The brothers had executed brilliantly, combining speed, superior equipment, discipline and a predetermined strategy to win themselves a total victory in the difficult terrain of the Alps.²⁵⁹ Even the boldest of the Raeti, the Cotuantii and

Rucantii, were no match for them.²⁶⁰ Unlike the Raeti who killed all their male captives, the mopping up operations that followed reveal the Romans' penchant for social engineering. Dio comments that Raetia had a disproportionate number of males. Drusus and Tiberius could not take the risk that they might be tempted to pick another fight with them. Their solution was to round up the male population of military age and deport them leaving just sufficient manpower behind to cultivate the land "but too few to begin a revolution".²⁶¹ Many ended up in the service of Rome: five units of *Cohors Alpinorum* and eight units of *Cohors Raetorum* were raised during Augustus' reign which saw service all over the empire.²⁶²

Bellum Noricum

It was now summer. Augustus may have given the order, or the Claudius brothers saw an opportunity and took the initiative, to engage and subjugate the tough warriors of the Vindelici and Norici nations living on northern side of the Alps stretching down to the banks of the River Danube. Strabo reports that like the Raeti, these mountain peoples raided their neighbours, who included the Boii, Helvetii, Sequani and even the Germanic tribes over the Danube.²⁶³ The boldest and bravest of the Vindelici by reputation were the Clautenatii, Licatii and Vennonnes.²⁶⁴ The Norici and Vindelici were particularly feared for their brutality and cruelty. Like the reports describing the antics of the Raeti, their treatment of captives was allegedly harsh. Male captives faced death and they slaughtered the pregnant mothers of the as-yet unborn males being carried in their wombs using divination to identify them.²⁶⁵

Siege Warfare

The region north of the Alps to the Danube covers an area of approximately 80,000 square kilometers (30,888.2 square miles). The Norici and Vindelici lived in organized communities in what could be described as cities (*oppida*), examples of which have been found in Berching/Pollanten, Bullenheimer Berg (Würzburg), Burgberg (Donaustauf), Fentbach (Weyarn), Hesselberg (Dinkelsbühl), Manching and Michelsberg (Kehlheim).²⁶⁶ Many were built with strong defensive ditches and banks surmounted by parapets. For Celtic warriors these may have seemed formidable defences, but the Roman army was expert in siege craft. The *oppidum* of the Genauni provided a valuable opportunity for Drusus to see these techniques executed first hand.²⁶⁷ Arriving at the stronghold Drusus, the legate of the legion and his *praefectus castrorum* would have first assessed the

best approach for a siege. Drusus would have known of examples of successful sieges from Roman history, notably from reading Julius Caesar's own accounts of taking the Gallic *oppida* at Avaricum and Alésia (Mont Auxois) in 52 BCE.²⁶⁸ If the goal was to starve the defenders into submission, a blockade was called for. At Alésia, Caesar surrounded the hill-top citadel occupied by Vercingetorix and the Mandubii with a double curtain wall or circumvallation, the inner one 18 kilometres (11.2 miles) of 4 metre (13.1 feet) high fortifications, the outer one 21 kilometres (13.0 miles) of the same height.²⁶⁹ Two 4.5 metre (14.8 feet) wide ditches, about 1.5 metres (4.9 feet) deep, were dug in front of the inner circumvallation, one of them filled with water. His men also covered the ground in front with metal spikes and calthrops, and dug pits with sharpened stakes in the centre – which the soldiers nicknamed *lilia* on account of their resemblance to the flowers – and planted a continuous hedge of pointed branches facing towards the enemy.²⁷⁰ The purpose of these extensive works was as much to stop Gallic reinforcements getting in as the defenders breaking out.

This late in the campaign season, Drusus did not have time to hole up his opponent and wait to starve him out. The alternative to a blockade was to attack the objective in a direct assault. At Avaricum (Bourges) in 52 BCE Caesar's engineers constructed great ramps 100 metres (328.0 feet) long of wooden logs stacked 25 metres (82.0 feet) high to fill a gap between their camp and the citadel of the Bituriges in just twenty-five days.²⁷¹ Then great siege towers were moved along the ramps close to the walls of the *oppidum* from which legionaries were able to scale the battlements. An assault could be expedited using artillery and in this the Romans were also experts. Roman artillery was based on technology using the energy stored in a 'spring' of twisted animal gut or horsehair.²⁷² In a tension weapon, such as a *ballista*, an arm lodged in the tension spring is pulled back. When the trigger is pulled, the energy is released hurling a stone over several hundred metres. The large stone throwing ballista was nicknamed the *onager*, meaning wild ass, on account of its sudden kick. In a torsion weapon such as a catapult, one or two arms under constant tension are drawn back like a crossbow, building up greater energy in the spring. Released by a trigger, the arms fly forward unleashing the bowstring and propelling with it a sharp or iron-tipped bolt (figure 2). Roman models were mounted on static stands, which could be adjusted up or down to offer different trajectories; or mounted on wheeled carts pulled by mules for mobile artillery.²⁷³ Small catapults

(*kheiroballistae*) could be operated by a two-man crew and were nicknamed *scorpiones*. Each legion had sixty bolt-firing catapults, including small, light artillery and the heavy stone-throwing *ballistae*. *En masse* they could be used to devastating effect. In 43 or 44 CE during the conquest of Britannia, *legatus* T. Flavius Vespasianus led *Legio II Augusta* in a siege of the *oppidum* of the Durotriges.²⁷⁴ The excavation of Maiden Castle in the 1940s revealed that the Roman artillery gunners had concentrated their field of fire on the huts of the chieftain. Archaeologists found the backbone of one of the defenders with an iron bolt still lodged between the vertebrae.²⁷⁵ Battering rams would then be deployed to smash down the locked gates of the hill-fort – if they were not first thrown open by the surrendering defenders. By such means, Drusus’ men stormed “many towns and strongholds” with ruthless efficiency.²⁷⁶ The citadel of the Genauni is recorded as having fallen to Drusus on 1 Sextilis (1 August) – the same date Octavianus took Alexandria from Kleopatra fifteen years earlier.²⁷⁷ The neighbouring Kingdom of Noricum had co-existed peacefully with the Romans since establishing formal relations in 186 BCE.²⁷⁸ At the time of Caesar’s Gallic War Noricum was ruled by King Voccio, a brother-in-law of Ariovistus.²⁷⁹ It is unlikely that Voccio was still alive when Drusus and his legions invaded, however, a direct descendant may have been.²⁸⁰ The royal family’s wealth and influence had been built on exploiting both the region’s mineral resources and its geographic location. The land had rich reserves of gold, silver and manganese-containing iron ores, which Norican miners extracted. Craftsmen forged the iron ore from Hüttenberger Erzberg into ingots called *ferrum Noricum*, which was well known across the Roman Empire.²⁸¹ Situated in lands crossed by trade routes from the Alps to the Danube and Gaul, the local Norican aristocracy grew wealthy. From 70 BCE they began minting coins showing that their economy was developing from one based on barter and exchange to one based on cash. The principal city of Noricum was Virunum, which was an *oppidum* atop the 1,058 metre (3,471.1 feet) high Magdalensberg with its commanding views of the wide valley across to the Zollfeld and the Ulrichsberg hills (plate 20). The earliest buildings in it were of timber, which can be dated to around 100 BCE.²⁸² Below it on a south-facing terrace was a Roman trading colony.²⁸³ It was an outward looking community and Norican traders enjoyed business with Roman enterprises located on the other side of the mountains in Aquileia.²⁸⁴ The influence of Roman material culture is demonstrated by the fact that from 30

BCE the traders' houses were built in stone and being decorated with murals depicting classical mythological scenes painted by immigrant *Roman* artists. The city even boasted a Roman-style forum. The wealth of the nation made Noricum a tempting target for annexation. Cutting out the middleman trading in highly prized commodities may actually have been one of the primary but tacit reasons for the Romans taking the kingdom by force.

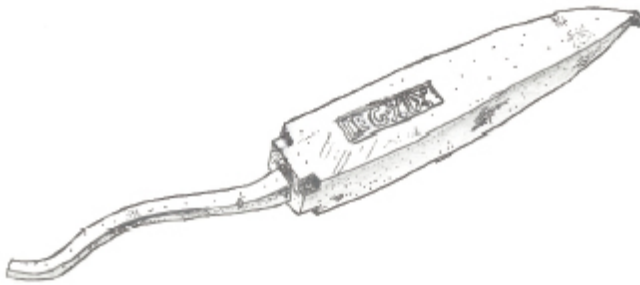


Figure 2: Catapult bolt from the Roman camp at Döttenbichl, Oberammergau shows the unmistakable stamp of *Legio XIX*. The bent tang suggests it was fired in anger. (Drawn by the author)

Since relations with the kingdom were evidently good, the realisation that the Romans now intended to annex Noricum must have come as a shock to the royal family. What happened is not clear from the archaeological evidence. Perhaps they retreated to their hill top citadel. Florus remarks the Norici fooled themselves into thinking that war could not reach “the Alps and their snows”.²⁸⁵ This phrase seems to be rather more for narrative effect than an accurate account of the situation on the ground. It was high summer when the Romans invaded and the valleys were clear of snow; and the Norican people lived for the most part on hilltops set in fertile farmland not on snow-capped mountain peaks. Nevertheless, some Celts must surely have fought with gritty determination to defend their homeland from the unwarranted attack by the invaders who, after all, were supposed to be their allies. When the gates of Virunum were breached – indeed, they may actually have been thrown open peacefully after diplomatic exchanges – any Norican resistance collapsed. The kingdom of Noricum fell to the brothers Claudius.

It had been a glorious campaign. Together the young Romans had put a stop to the incursions of the unruly tribes “by means of a single summer campaign”.²⁸⁶ The news of the astonishingly quick victory played well with the audience at home. Augustus himself was well pleased with the outcome of the war. In his *Res Gestae* he boasted,

I brought peace to the Alps from the region which is near the Adriatic Sea to the Tuscan, with no unjust war waged against any nation.²⁸⁷

He was quick to exploit its propaganda value. New coins were struck showing the figure of Augustus presented as a magistrate in a toga seated on a distinctive curule chair (*sella curulis*) placed on a raised dais, his right arm outstretched reaching down to receive olive branches from two armed figures wearing cloaks (plate 19).²⁸⁸ These men are intended to be understood as Drusus and Tiberius. It was a carefully calculated political message designed to promote an ‘ideology of victory’.²⁸⁹ Central to this propaganda message was the *princeps* assumed all credit for military victories, especially those carried out by his deputies (*legati*).²⁹⁰ Augustus’ two trusted *legati* had brought him victory and the army lauded him his achievement. Below the figures *in exergue* is the legend ‘IMP X’ attesting to the acclamation of Augustus as *imperator* ten times by the men of the legions up to that point in time. On the obverse a fine portait of a youthful Augustus in profile is surrounded by the legend ‘AVGVSTVS DIVI F’ – *Augustus divi filius* – ‘Augustus son of a god’. The god in

question was Iulius Caesar, the conqueror of the *tres Galliae*. He had crossed the Alps, but not subjugated its peoples – whereas his successor and avenger had and, moreover, had done so in a single year, rather than the nine it had taken his divine father. Behind the surface, there was, however, another mythological interpretation of *divi filius*. There was a tale that Augustus' mother Atia had been sexually seduced by a serpent while sleeping in the Temple of Apollo and that he was the son of that union.²⁹¹ Another coin minted the same year shared the same obverse, but the reverse showed the figure of Apollo Citharoedus, his head wreathed in laurel, hand holding a lyre, and below the legend 'IMP X' in *exergue*.²⁹² Apollo was Augustus' personal god, the divinity to whom he dedicated his victory at Actium.²⁹³ It promised a glorious future. Under the sun god's – and the son of the sun god's – aegis Augustus and his stepsons would bring yet more victories and glory to the Roman commonwealth.

Yet from now on Drusus was an unwitting instrument in the regime's imperial propaganda machine. In Drusus and his brother, Augustus had two young all-Roman heroes he could hold up as champions of the new age.²⁹⁴ Perhaps at Augustus' own urging, the princeps' favourite poet Q. Horatius Flaccus (Horace) set to work on the fourth in his *Carmina* series of poems.²⁹⁵ It was published in 13 BCE. Set to music he sang his hyperbolic verses,

What honours can a grateful Rome,
A grateful senate, Caesar, give
To make thy worth through days to come
Emblazon'd on our records live,
Mightiest of chieftains whomso'er
The sun beholds from heaven on high?
They know thee now, thy strength in war,
Those unsubdued Vindelici.
Thine was the sword that Drusus drew,
When on the Breunian hordes he fell,
And storm'd the fierce Genaunian crew
E'en in their Alpine citadel,
And paid them back their debt twice told.²⁹⁶

The young Drusus had not flinched in the face of battle, sang Horace, despite his inexperience. He had demonstrated *virtus* in the best Claudian tradition. The brothers seemed invincible in the face even of the most brutal and savage of foes:

What will not Claudian hands achieve?

Jove's favour is their guiding star,
And watchful potencies unweave
For them the tangled paths of war.²⁹⁷

Led by Drusus and his brother, Roman armies now had control of all the major passes of the Alps, connecting the Mediterranean world under Rome's influence through the Voralpenland of Southern Germany to the banks of the River Danube.²⁹⁸ To secure the newly won gains Drusus' legions dug in for the winter in Raetia and Vindelicia. Their winter camps may have included Auerberg, Augsburg-Oberhausen, Bregenz, Chur, Dangstetten, Gauting, Lorenzberg at Epfach, and Kempten.²⁹⁹ Evidence from inscriptions suggests one or more legions – or at least detachments of them – stayed until redeployed out of the area between 12 BCE and 12 CE.³⁰⁰

Legio XIX under Varus' command stayed initially at Döttenbichl near Oberammergau, set among the dramatic Ammergau Alps, to secure the newly conquered region.³⁰¹ At the site of the camp the iron-tipped bolt from a catapult stamped with the number of the legion (fig. 2) was found during excavations in 1992 and 1993.³⁰² When the military leadership determined the threat level had sufficiently subsided, all or part of *Legio* XIX later moved to a new fortress 320 kilometres away in Dangstetten close by the Rhine River among the rolling hills of Baden-Württemberg, where it could control the strategically important Great St. Bernard or Upper Rhine Passes to Italy. The fact of its presence here has come down to us because of the clumsiness of a *lumentarius*, a soldier or slave responsible for baggage and the animals that carried it. Named Privatus he dropped a circular lead tag, just 3.6 centimetres (1.4 inches) in diameter, on which was scratched in handwriting the man's name and details.³⁰³ It tells us he was assigned to the legion's First Cohort and in Varus' employ.

Raetia eventually became a province in the imperial system under an equestrian *praefectus*.³⁰⁴ Located 150 kilometres north of Döttenbichl, Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg) was founded as the market town of the province, among whose founding pioneers were, no doubt, men retiring from the legions who had just subjugated the territory for Rome. Thirty-three years later the geographer Strabo wrote in celebration of the people of Raetia for consistently paying their taxes and for their gold mines, which were securely under Roman control.³⁰⁵ *Raeticum*, a wine made from grapes grown on the foothills of the Alps near Verona, was known to be superior to that produced in several Italian areas and was Augustus' favourite tippie.³⁰⁶ Recognising

the importance of its strategic location, Augustus transferred money from his own funds to the state treasury (*aerarium*) for the specific purpose of refurbishing roads, building new bridges and erecting milestones throughout the region of the Alps – all the better to expedite the movement of troops, merchants, census takers and tax collectors.³⁰⁷

For the moment there was time to savour the victory. In September or October of that year, Drusus returned to Lugdunum where Antonia and her child were waiting to welcome him. The previous year, on 24 May, she had given birth to a son named Nero Claudius Drusus (Stemma Drusorum no. 13).³⁰⁸ Also there to welcome him were Augustus and Livia. Amidst the joy of the family reunion, the *princeps* had some important news for his youngest stepson. There had been a change of plan. Drusus would not be going back to Rome any time soon. His brother Tiberius would be returning to the city to continue with his political career. Drusus the Elder would now be taking over from his brother as the *princeps' legatus Augusti pro praetore* of the Tres Galliae.

Chapter 3

Drusus the Builder

14–13 BCE

A Provincial Life

When he arrived in late 15 BCE to assume the governorship, Drusus found himself in charge of a region undergoing transformation – economic, political, social and military. C. Julius Caesar had famously observed “all Gallia is divided into three parts”.¹ Despite four decades of Roman occupation Caesar would have still recognised the region Drusus now governed. To the west of Roman Provincia on the Mediterranean coast approximately encompassed by the Garonne River (Garumna) to the north and the Pyrennees to the south, was Aquitania, which was home to the Tarbelli nation. In the far north running the length of the English Channel as far as the Rhine River and bordered by the Marne River (Matrona) to the south was Belgica, so named because of the community of Belgae nations comprising the Ambiani, Remi and Tungri that inhabited it. The largest region occupying the central plain, and extending to the Atlantic Sea in the west and the Rhine River as far as its source in the Alps, was variously called Celtica or Gallia Comata – a title meaning ‘Long Haired Gaul’, and no doubt coined by some witty Roman soldier with his short back and sides on encountering his Gallic opponents for the first time. It encompassed the great tribes of the Aedui, Aremorica, Arverni, Pictones, Sequani, Teveri and Veneti. Celtica dwarfed its neighbours and it may have been on this most recent trip that Augustus saw an opportunity to reorganize the provincial borders encompassing the sixty-four Gallic tribes.² Under the reorganisation he reassigned tribes from Gallia Comata to its neighbours so that it became roughly equal in size with them, and renamed it the new province of Gallia Lugdunensis. Its southern border henceforth roughly followed the course of the Loire River (Liger) while its northern traced the Seine River (Sequana). Aquitania and Belgica were similarly enlarged. Together these administrative entities became known collectively as the *Tres Provinciae Galliae* – the Three Gallic

Provinces.³ Under the same reorganisation Provincia was expanded by annexing land from Celtica and renamed Narbonensis but unlike the Tres Galliae Narbonensis was a province governed by a proconsul appointed by the Senate.⁴ Julius Caesar had established *coloniae* at Arelate (Arles), Baeterrae (Béziers), Forum Iulii (Fréjus) and Narbo (Narbonne).⁵ In these cities veterans set up new businesses as bar owners, craftsmen or shopkeepers. Retired soldiers were granted pockets of land to farm as part of their honorable discharge (*honesta missio*), which would have had to have been confiscated from native farmers. The aboriginal communities in the region were considered to be lesser Latin settlements but the leading members of those societies, and quite possibly their free-born retainers, became Roman citizens. The cities flourished. By the time of Augustus' visit, these cities and towns were already approaching the sophistication of those in the eastern provinces and provided a benchmark of what could be achieved across the region.

The character of the provinces of Tres Galliae was markedly different from Narbonensis. The process of assimilation of native communities through urbanization, observance of Roman law and religious practice, taxation of income and wealth – what modern historians call 'Romanisation' – had begun much later and the investments made much less. The native people seem to have been left to largely remain in, or live close to, their traditional *oppida*. The strategy pursued under Caesar seems to have been formulated with military defence in mind rather than with an intention of developing the area into a Roman economic territory.⁶ Caesar established just three *coloniae* in Gallia Comata at Iulia Equestris (Nyon), Lugdunum (Lyons) and Raurica (Augst) each strategically located at the most likely invasion routes into Provincia and Italia (Gallia Cisalpina, Gallia Transalpina) from the Rhine. With Augustus, that strategy changed. He saw the economic and political potential of Tres Galliae and was keen to expedite the process of Romanisation there. Drusus' role was to continue and expand that great civilising project.

The View from the Governor's Palace

Drusus, Antonia and young Nero Claudius Drusus and their household slaves now took up residence at the *praetorium* in Lugdunum. Augustus and Livia were already installed there when they arrived. The building has been identified and excavated in modern Lyon.⁷ It stood on the highest point of the granite acropolis of Fourvière formed by the confluence of the

rivers Rhône (Rhodanus) and Saône (Arar) and over which it had spectacular views bathed in the rays of the rising sun each morning (plate 20). It was a palatial building measuring 37 metres (121.4 feet) by 61 metres (200.1 feet) with a symmetrically axial ground plan reminiscent of military *praetoria*.⁸ It included two internal partially covered *atria* with peristyles, and featured mosaic floors and baths, hinting at the highly cultured sensibilities of its architect, M. Vipsanius Agrippa, when he commissioned the building as governor.⁹ It was certainly a home away from home for the imperial family.

The city itself had been founded as a *colonia* in 43 BCE by one of Julius Caesar's legates, L. Munatius Plancus. He was in fact appointed Gaul's first governor and chose the location for his capital.¹⁰ The city initially took the grand name of Colonia Copia Felix Munatia Lugdunum, which stressed its good fortune and abundance – and its founder's family. Laid out in the grid-iron street plan so beloved of Roman surveyors (map 4), it boasted a forum measuring 140 metres (459.3 feet) by 61 metres (200.1 feet) – as large as the one at Alésia and Augusta Raurica (a city also founded by Plancus) – which dates to Augustus' time. It may have been Augustus who commissioned the building of a theatre directly in front of the *praetorium*. Modest in scale, nevertheless no expense was spared on its construction and the stone was towed upriver from Glanum 250 kilometres (155.3 miles) away.¹¹ The first four rows, which were wide and shallow, were sufficient to place the chairs of 200 very important guests in comfort. The curtain slot of the *scaena frons* was discovered during excavations, which has enabled archaeologists to reconstruct its operation precisely. At the start of a performance, the curtain supported by fifteen uprights dropped into shafts by means of counterweights, while another set of counterweights wound the fabric around drums located in the base of the slot. The curtain was unwound and raised at the end of the show.¹² It provided a venue for showcasing Greek and Roman dramas, comic and tragic, to the élites of the newly Romanising population.

As *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, Drusus had several explicit duties to perform. Firstly, the local Gallic aristocracies were to be encouraged to build self-sustaining urban communities.¹³ Secondly, the security of the region should be ensured and paid for by taxes on the local population enjoying Roman protection. Third and lastly, the interests of resident Roman citizens were to be promoted and supported in the provinces. The word *provincia* originally meant 'appointment' or 'task' and outside of Rome it

was applied to the ‘sphere of action’ of magistrates.¹⁴ As Augustus’ handpicked delegate Drusus was empowered with the *princeps*’ personal legal authority (*imperium*) to make decisions and carry them out in his name but within the law. His job was made easier – or arguably more difficult – by the fact that Augustus was still in the region. Though also visiting the Iberian territories, Augustus’ reason for remaining in the Tres Galliae while Drusus was his appointed legate is not clear. Perhaps Augustus felt he needed to play a higher-profile rôle in governing, overseeing his clients in the western provinces in the manner of a *patronus*; or perhaps he felt he could mentor Drusus and impart his experience and insights to the young man who showed promise; or perhaps he was already engrossed in the details of developing a campaign plan for Germania Magna, a task he faced having to do alone since he did not have easy access to Agrippa. What is clear is that he decided to stay for the next 18 months.

There is no record of Drusus’ first hundred days in office. Nevertheless we know of several important programmes that were under way by the time he arrived or were initiated under his governorship. One of these was the completion of the conquest of the Alps. Remarkably, one small corner still held out against the Romans. This was a small mountainous tract of land below Alpes Cottiae that ran down to the shores of the Mediterranean, located on the eastern side of Narbonensis and on the western side of Italia. Resisting Roman arms was the indomitable nation of Comati, ‘the long haired’, which was a tribe of the Ligures.¹⁵ They could not be permitted to remain independent under the new regional order imposed by Rome. Nothing is recorded of the ensuing military campaign, nor who led it. It could conceivably have been Drusus as he had command of the largest military force in the area, and Tiberius had already returned to Rome, but all that can be said with certainty is that by the end of 14 BCE these hard workers and tough fighters had been “reduced to slavery”.¹⁶ Rather than waste their proven combat skills the Romans founded two auxiliary cohorts of Ligurians and promptly deployed them away from their homeland.¹⁷ The entire sweep of mountains of the Alpine range were now under Roman control. Three new provinces were created – Alpes Cottiae (capital Segusio), Alpes Graiae (capital Segusio) and Alpes Maritimae (capital Cemenum). They were not part of the Tres Galliae but their boundaries with his own jurisdiction meant Drusus would nevertheless have watched them with interest.

The presence of so many high status Romans in Tres Galliae was a clear indication of the importance Augustus ascribed to the region in the internal policy of the empire. A dramatic manifestation of this was the opening of a mint (*moneta*) in Lugdunum. It is believed to have been operational from 15 BCE and was striking gold and silver coins from the outset.¹⁸ It quickly became the only location in the West to produce the *aureus* or ‘golden *denarius*’ and Augustus may have actually intended the mint in Tres Galliae to stop the Senate from meddling in the production of high value coins.¹⁹ Yet it also produced the small change in copper (*aes*) and bright yellow brass (*orichalcum*) that facilitated the burgeoning markets in traded goods across the region.²⁰ Every coin was made by hand by placing a flan of metal in a two-part die, and striking it with a hammer. It was a slow and labour-intensive process. Significantly, the mint was located between the mines in the Iberian Peninsula and Gaul, which produced the precious metals, and the troops stationed there and across Tres Galliae, Raetia and Noricum who needed regular payment.²¹ Since coins had to be physically transported to the army in its winter camps three times a year, the location of the mint at Lugdunum solved the logistical challenges of safely moving great quantities of gold and silver pieces from Rome by taking the centre of production closer to the points of distribution. Ensuring the mint was secure and the die were kept striking was now Drusus’ responsibility.

Developing an Urban Society

The process of bringing the Gallic élite into a cohesive urban-based society ruled by Roman laws – what we nowadays call ‘nation building’ – was underway but only gained real momentum under Augustus. Beyond Lugdunum, Agrippa, or one of his deputies, had founded the marketplaces of the Terevri at Treverorum (Trier) and the Ubii at Oppidum Ubiorum (Cologne).²² Augustus actively fostered the development of these and other new urban communities in the three provinces through direct patronage.²³ But buildings alone did not make Roman civilisation: hearts and minds had to be won too.²⁴ Each of the sixty Gallic nations had been formed into self-governing communities or *civitates* which occupied the geographical territories of the pre-conquest era tribes.²⁵ In its most developed form, such a community government was a miniature version of the system in Rome with minor magistracies, such as quaestors and aediles, supervised by two senior magistrates (*duoviri*) who ran the administration and the courts, and advised by a town

council or senate (*ordo*).²⁶ The *ordo* was made up of local worthies (*honesti*) whose membership of the body was qualified by wealth and property limits since they were expected to pay for certain expenses out of their own purses as a responsibility of holding office.²⁷ In some communities, the traditional Gallic magistracies continued, such as the *vergobret* among the Lexovii and Santones, a position which may have been the equivalent of a Roman *praetor*.²⁸

Augustus adopted a ‘carrot and stick’ approach to driving regional economic and political development.²⁹ He actively promoted certain regional capitals, lavishing largesse on them, awarded them privileges and Roman citizenships and even lent them the prestige of his own name, such as the marketplace of the Aedui at Augustodunum Aedorum (Autun), the Raurici at Augusta Raurica (Augst) and the Treveri at Augusta Treverorum (Trier). Others singled out for recognition included Augustomagus (Senlis), Augustonemetum (Clermont-Ferrand), Augustobona (Troyes) and Augustoritum (Limoges).³⁰ These centres were means to encouraging adoption of the Roman way among the élites of the indigenous peoples through civic rivalry and competition for prestige and the attention of the imperial family.³¹ After all, competition among Rome’s élites had never done it any harm. By Drusus’ time the old Gallic aristocracies who had fought Iulius Caesar were very old men or long dead and their sons were now the new leaders of their communities. Many enjoyed hereditary positions and wealth or power by mediating between the Roman authorities and the mass of tribal commoners.³² Writing of the Gauls’ British cousins some forty years after the conquest of their island Tacitus noted how quickly they had adopted the Latin language and were keen to wear the *toga*.³³ They were oblivious, he said, to the fact that they had succumbed to the comforts of the bath and dining room, which they called ‘culture’ (*humanitas*), whereas in reality “it was but a part of their servitude”.³⁴ It was this life of ease that Tacitus also blamed for the Gallic people becoming passive.³⁵ But this was surely the point? In building a commonwealth of nations, Augustus had to create a complaisant population. Tacitus’s observations of the behaviour of the Gauls in the first century CE was a measure of how successfully the *princeps* and his governors, including Drusus, had implemented the policy.

The provinces Drusus inherited from his brother were works-in-progress. Beyond the *colonia* of Lugdunum and the *civitates* of Augustodunum Aedorum, Augusta Raurica and Augusta

Treverorum, urban development was patchy. Many of the towns laid out by the Roman army's surveyors (*mensores*, *agrimensores*, *gromatici*), such as at Andemantunnum (Langeres), Bagacum (Bavai), Burdigala (Bordeaux), Divodurum (Metz), Lutetia (Paris), Mediolanum Santonum (Saintes) and Samarobriua (Amiens), were sparsely populated and had the atmosphere of Wild West frontier towns of nineteenth century America with a few wooden buildings, mostly comprising the premises of tradesmen along the main roads, but whole neighbouring blocks (*insulae*) eerily empty of any property.³⁶ There was a large element of 'build it and they will come' in establishing new Roman provinces.

Drusus even left his imprint on some of these towns in a surprisingly direct way. Surveyors of the Tres Galliae began to use a new measurement: the *pes Drusianus* – the 'Drusus foot'.³⁷ This curious fact is recorded in Hyginus Gromaticus' treatise which taught surveyors living in the first century CE the technical skills required to measure boundaries of land lots by using boundary markers in Roman and foreign units of measurement. In it he remarks that the *pes Drusianus* was used "in Germania among the Tungri" as the preferred unit for measuring length.³⁸ He defined it as a standard Roman foot (*pes Monetalis*) plus a *sescunciam*, an additional one-and-a-half inches.³⁹ Depending on the definition of the *pes Monetalis*, modern scholars estimate the length of the *pes Drusianus* at between 326.5–338.9 millimetres (13.25–13.75 inches).⁴⁰ Why the need for a new measure? Hyginus does not record the reason, but it seems unlikely that it was actually based on Drusus' own foot.⁴¹ The street grid of Samarobriua was apparently laid out using the new measure of length.⁴² In Tres Galliae, Drusus truly left his mark.

Yet it seems from the archaeological record that the Gallic populations felt more at home in small communities located in the plains below their ancestral *oppida*. These townships (*vici*) and villages (*pagi*), often unplanned, arose out of their convenient location, such as at road intersections and river crossings; or in response to commercial opportunities, such as to service a local Roman military contingent which had arrived to build sections of road or bridges. They produced goods from a range of local craftworking skills, from clothmaking to woodworking, metalworking to pottery making, providing the Roman army and its *lixae* with essential staples and luxuries.⁴³ A few *vici*, such as at Alésia, Mâlain and Vidy, Lousonna, show evidence that formal street patterns were laid out in the period

20–10 BCE, suggesting that the Roman authorities recognised their value.⁴⁴ Their inherently organic nature meant some *pagi* and *vici* were more dynamic than the organised *civitates*, as was the case at Cenabum (Orléans) whose development outpaced that of Autricum (Chartres). In other parts of the country, however, the native population did not respond well to the invitation to adopt the Roman way. In the settlement of Burdigala overlooking the Garonne River, for example, or at Vorgium (Carhaix), life continued much as it had done before the arrival of Iulius Caesar, and these cities remained empty.⁴⁵ Here the Romans built it, but the Gauls resolutely did not come.

In this state of fragile development, it was not at all certain that the provinces Drusus had come to govern would be successful. He would need a deft touch and persuasive manner to foster good relations between the conqueror and conquered. There was the ever-present danger that a corrupt official could undo all his good work. A case in point is the extraordinary and salutary story of C. Iulius Licinus.⁴⁶ He was a Gallic Celt who had been enslaved by Iulius Caesar and after having been freed and adopting his master's *praenomen* and *nomen*, had come to prominence through him. Under Augustus he had been appointed *procurator Augusti provinciae*, the agent responsible for collecting taxes and whose fiduciary duty was deliberately separated from those of the governor.⁴⁷ He exploited his insights into Gallic psychology and the prestige of his position in the Roman administration to pull off a scam that duped many an unsuspecting Celt. A jealous and avaricious man, he tried to bring down his rivals and anyone who seemed more powerful than him. Among the scandalous tricks he played was to claim that December was in fact the tenth month (the Latin for ten being *decem*) of the year. Taxpayers were told that they still owed two more months to cover their liability. By this and other undisclosed ruses Licinus amassed a great fortune for himself and his closest friends. Too late the Gauls realised that they had been cheated and they approached Augustus during his sojourn in Tres Galliae with their complaints, which, if they were Roman citizens was their right. Licinus knew he had to act fast to avoid being tried in court on a corruption charge. He was Augustus' own man and the *princeps* was vexed by the accusation as it reflected badly on him personally, but it also posed something of a dilemma and he tried to offer excuses for his procurator's behaviour. Finally Augustus quizzed Licinus directly. The procurator laughed scornfully at the accusations, but sensing the *princeps* was displeased, he invited Augustus to his house. There

in dramatic fashion he revealed a treasure trove of gold and silver and announced that he had, in fact, gathered it for the specific benefit of Augustus and the Roman people. He added sinisterly that had the *Galli* kept such a vast amount of coin and treasure they might have been tempted to revolt. By promptly handing over the booty and hoodwinking the head of state, Licinus saved his own skin. The scoundrel was likely still serving as *procurator* during Drusus' governorship of Tres Galliae, presumably now more careful in his dealings and chastened by the affair – and aware of how closely he had come to disaster.

As in every age, collecting taxes was a serious business. Whereas during Caesar's war of conquest and the years of the civil wars the Gallic nations had been asked to provide men and horses to bolster the ranks of the Roman army, in the era of peace ushered in by Augustus it was cold, hard cash that the Gauls were now being asked for.⁴⁸ Augustus needed funds for his forthcoming war across the Rhine. As a result of his beneficence, some communities responded and paid Augustus handsomely.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, accurate assessments of the assets of the population were needed to calculate the tax basis and were routinely undertaken in the form of a nationwide census usually held every five years (*lustrum*). Augustus had himself overseen a census of the three Gallic provinces in 27 BCE while holding assizes in Narbonensis.⁵⁰ It was a major undertaking that required careful planning. Roman citizens living in Italia were exempt from direct taxes – an entitlement called the 'Italian Right' – but those resident outside were not. Outside Rome, the census was supervised by a team of *censitores* and their assistants (*censuales*) who undertook to complete a register of Roman citizens and their property. The governor, however, might perform the duties or assign his deputies to do so.⁵¹ Many of the requirements of the census are known from the *Digest* of the jurist Domitius Ulpianus who lived in the second century CE.⁵² He records that it required that the person registering make estimates himself of all his estates – acreages of arable, pasture and woodland, numbers of trees, olive trees and vines, ponds, harbours and salt pans – and detail his slaves – by number, age, nationality, functions and skills. Concessions were made for landslides that took land out of production and for withered vines or dead trees that reduced the total taxable output of the commodities. It was a heavily labour intensive procedure, requiring each registrant to be interviewed in person and notes to be recorded by hand. The entire operation was controlled, however, from Lugdunum but registrants may have been

required to go to a designated town where the *censitor* had set up his information gathering operations.⁵³ An indication of the grand scale of the retinue such an official brought with him survives on the tombstone of Musicus Scurranus who served as an imperial *dispensator ad fiscum Gallicum provinciae Lugdunensis* under Tiberius and died when he returned to Rome. It tells us that accompanying Scurranus was a crew of freedmen and slaves, including a business agent and an accountant, three assistants, a physician, two slaves responsible for silver and one for the wardrobe, two chamberlains, two footmen, two cooks and a woman of unspecified role and responsibility.⁵⁴ For many of the Gallic aristocracy it would have seemed an unnecessary, even an intolerable, intrusion into their personal affairs. They resented the foreigners poking their noses in their private business and the inevitably higher taxes levied on it. The communities that did not respond well to Augustus' policy had freedoms and Roman citizenship taken away.⁵⁵

The episode in 16 or 15 BCE with Licinus does serve to illustrate, however, that the machinery of government and its complaints procedure did work. That Licinus mentioned the potential for rebellion shows that among some members of the population, resentment festered. The challenge for Augustus and Drusus was to align the aspirations of the native Gallic élites with those of the Romans. They needed a common vision for the region, a shared dream.

As he rose through the *cursus honorum* Drusus was becoming known for his devotion to public service and his support of the institutions of the *res publica*.⁵⁶ Suetonius records that he made no secret of his desire of restoring the traditional form of government – which was another way of saying he intended to replace the autocracy of Augustus – “whenever he should have the power”.⁵⁷ His position of authority in the Tres Galliae may have given him precisely the opportunity to practice what he preached. In a stroke of genius, some time during the period 14–12 BCE Drusus conceived the idea of creating a ‘Gallic Council’ (*concilium Galliarum*). Even during the war of conquest Iulius Caesar had noticed that the Gauls enjoyed coming together in conferences where they could indulge in their love of rhetoric and the companionship of peers.⁵⁸ The congress proposed by Drusus would be a federal representative assembly for the communities of Tres Galliae.⁵⁹ The idea had been tried before with success in Greece and Lycia-Pamphyilia where *koina* brought together members of a league of cities.⁶⁰ It could be argued that the assembly would be little more than a talking

shop, as it was not an organisation of devolved power or decision making – it could not make laws or raise taxation, for example. However, in one key respect the *concilium Galliarum* would fulfill an important function: it brought together the élites of the cities (*primores*), gave them a larger platform on which to express themselves, and reinforced their status and control in their own communities. They could, on the other hand, bring grievances to the notice of assembly members and the presiding *propraetor*, and proffer advice on measures intended to apply to the entire province.

The assembly would also be responsible for overseeing the imperial cult. By the time of Drusus' governorship, the cult of *Roma et Augustus* was just becoming established and being seen as a useful political tool to align the interest of Roman conqueror and the conquered. The cult of the living emperor was formulated and sanctioned by Octavianus in 30/29 BCE in response to requests from the commonwealths of Asia and Bithynia to worship his living person as their 'deliverer' or 'saviour', two or three years *before* the senate voted him the title Augustus.⁶¹ Sensitive to the political ramifications, Octavianus stipulated that any provincial cult dedicated to him must be jointly offered to *dea Dia* and at cult centres to be built at Nicomedia and Pergamum. Additionally, provincials who were also Roman citizens were not permitted to worship the living emperor, but could express their devotion to *dea Roma* and the *divus Iulius* at precincts in Ephesus and Nicaea.⁶² The first recorded regional cults to Augustus in the western provinces were established with his permission around a decade later in northwestern Spain and named *arae Sestianae* after their military founder, L. Sestius Quirinalis Albinianus.⁶³ Tiberius officially inaugurated the cult of *divus Augustus* in 18 BCE, and an oracle pronounced that *ludi saeculares* should be held in celebration of the 'new golden age' – the games that were held the year preceding the *ludi* that Drusus helped his brother to organise.

The cult required a sanctuary (*fanum*) and a priesthood (*sacerdos*) to conduct ceremonies and rites. The chosen site was the floodplain in the valley at the confluence of the Saône and Rhône rivers, facing the acropolis of Lugdunum in full view of the governor's palace. There may already have been a sacred grove in this place before the Romans arrived.⁶⁴ A simple altar would not do, however. The site would have to be a physical manifestation of the very best of Gallic and Roman cultures, combining fine architecture with high ritual. It would need to be a fitting venue for a festival and competitions of vocal and

musical arts, akin to a Welsh *eisteddfod*, beloved of the Celts, as well as for spectacles of blood sports so much enjoyed by the Romans. Drusus commissioned plans for a spectacular complex comprising of a large altar (*ara*), an avenue of statues and an amphitheatre.⁶⁵ It would take time to build, but the creation of the assembly and the sanctuary under Drusus quickly struck a chord with the Gallic aristocracy. It is significant that the three Gallic provinces were the only territories in the western Roman Empire to institute a *concilium* and that it was to endure for three centuries.⁶⁶

Preparations for the German War

From affairs of peace, Drusus had to quickly turn his attention to matters of war. Augustus had appointed Drusus expressly to prosecute his war of conquest of Germania Magna.⁶⁷ The objective of the German War (*Bellum Germanicum*) has been speculated upon by generations of historians. It is generally assumed that the strategic imperative for the campaign was to reach the Elbe River (Albis) and establish it as a new frontier.⁶⁸ The generally held assumption among modern historians is that Augustus intended the Elbe-Danube to mark a new frontier line that would be easier to defend compared to the Rhine-Danube line.⁶⁹ Yet the ancient written accounts upon which the interpretation is based were published long after the outcome of the war was a matter of public record. Moreover it presupposes the Romans had good maps from which to make this determination. The Romans certainly had maps. The earliest Roman map dating to 174 BCE was of Sardinia. Varro (127–116 BCE) had produced books with cartographic illustrations which were widely circulated and he knew of the world maps of the Greek geographer Eratosthenes. Iulius Caesar had begun work on a world map but died before it was completed. With his ambitions for imperial conquest, Augustus needed a complete and up-to-date map of the world (*Orbis Terrarum*) and he commissioned Agrippa to produce it.⁷⁰ Agrippa was an ideal choice for overseeing such an important project. He was well travelled, having traversed and seen the major regions of the empire by land and sea. He had an architect's eye for detail and a military tactician's eye for topography. He, more than any other man in the administration, had as complete as was possible at that time a view of the known-world – and had an insight into the extent to which the world beyond was *unknown*. Agrippa assigned a team of Greek freedmen to carry out the research and make sense of the differing sources of information

– Iulius Caesar’s unfinished map, centuriation maps, campaign maps, interviews with merchants, resident aliens, colonists and officials returning to Rome. In 15 BCE the map was still a work-in-progress and it would not be finished until the later part of Augustus’ reign. Sadly none of it survives today. By coincidence, a chorographer from Pontus called Strabo was assembling similar information for his *Geographika*. It is not known if Agrippa’s team was aware of his work, and in any case it was not published until 10 CE, but in the absence of the *Orbis Terrarum* it does give us an idea of the state of contemporary geographic and ethnographical knowledge of the world. In key respects it was wanting. The Romans’ understanding of Germania and its peoples was in large part based on encounters during military campaigns, such as by Iulius Caesar, whose account had only been published three decades earlier.⁷¹ There had been no meaningful engagement since that time to update that account.

Pliny the Elder was well acquainted with the finished version of Agrippa’s map and its accompanying *Commentarii geographici* and quoted it frequently in his encyclopaedic *Naturalis Historia* (*Natural History*). It put the city of Rome in the centre of a circular representation of the three known continents – Europe, Africa and Asia (map 5). The continents were represented more or less as equally sized landmasses. A great ocean surrounded the three continents so that it theoretically was possible to circumnavigate the world. Italy was shown as a stubby projection into the Mediterranean. About 80 per cent of the surface area of the map was deemed to be ruled by Rome – presumably so it could show cities, the road network, major rivers, provincial boundaries and allow space for text. India, Seres (China), Scythia and Sarmatia (Russia) were shown, but as small nations out on the edge of the world. Pliny’s main criticism was that Agrippa’s map underestimated the distances over land and overrepresented distances by sea. He was incandescent, for example, that Agrippa could have misjudged the length of the province of Baetica in Hispania:

Who is there that can entertain the belief that Agrippa, a man of such extra-ordinary diligence, and one who bestowed so much care on his subject, when he proposed to place before the eyes of the world a survey of that world, could be guilty of such a mistake as this, and that too when seconded by the late emperor the divine Augustus?⁷²

Studying the *Orbis Terrarum* Augustus would have understood Germania Magna to be smaller than it in fact was. The map suggested the distance between the Ocean beyond China and the

Rhine River was only three and half times the distance across Gallia. For the purposes of planning a military campaign, these distortions could have very significant consequences.⁷³ Gaul had taken some eight years to conquer under Caesar, though it took many more years to finally subjugate under Augustus. Based on the relative assessment of the extent of Germania Magna, it may have appeared that conquest could be achieved as quickly.⁷⁴ So in practice, the Romans were largely ignorant of the region they were setting out to conquer.⁷⁵ It is entirely possible that Augustus had no limit in mind at all and envisaged a Roman realm extending to the very ends of the Earth – or at least as far as Roman dominion could practicably extend.⁷⁶ In the absence of detailed intelligence about the region between the Rhine and Elbe rivers, Augustus would simply not have known where to fix the line of Rome's northern frontier.⁷⁷ In the end pragmatics would determine the drawing of the line, the *limes* as the Romans called the frontier, and that decision would be down to Drusus as the commander in the field to make.

How much of the final strategy for the invasion was Drusus' own work is difficult to say based on the available evidence. Most likely, it was a composite of many contributors, including Drusus, and his legates such as Sex. Vistilius, and finally approved by Augustus himself.⁷⁸ Augustus was a conservative man by nature, disinclined to take wild gambles and he preferred to act only after having planned his moves thoroughly. One of his tenets was "that is done fast enough, which is done well".⁷⁹ Throughout his career he had been assisted by Agrippa and it is highly likely that *he* would have contributed in a significant way to crafting the strategy for Germania. Agrippa was twice *propraetor* for the region – from the spring of 39 BCE to the autumn of 38 BCE and again from June 20 BCE to the spring of 18 BCE.⁸⁰ He was a superb strategist and tactician and the brains behind the decisive victories at sea at Actium (31 BCE) and on land against the Astures and Cantabri in Hispania (29–19 BCE). He was well travelled and knew key places first hand – he was, after all, also only the second man, after Iulius Caesar, to have crossed the Rhine, and had personal knowledge of the barbarian world beyond it. Before he left for Syria he would surely have discussed a grand strategy with Augustus, who was leaving without him to go to Tres Galliae to address the matter of what to do about Germania – even if it was only idle conversation over dinner?

The Romans conceptualised the world and its populations in terms of climate and location. The people of Africa lived under

an intense sun, their lands dry, so they were hot blooded and their skin burned. The northern people lived in cold and wet climates, surrounded by swamps and forests and therefore their cultures were dull and primitive. Thus Tacitus described the landscape of the *Germani* nations:

Their land, notwithstanding considerable local diversities, as a rule consists of tangled forests and dismal swamps, the rainfall being greater on the side towards Gallia, while the side facing Noricum and Pannonia is more exposed to winds. It is fairly fertile, though fruit trees do not flourish, and it is good grazing country, but the cattle are usually stunted; our fine powerful oxen with their spreading horns are positively unknown; their pride is in large herds, which constitute their sole and most highly prized form of wealth. Silver and gold the gods have denied them, but whether in mercy or anger I hesitate to say.⁸¹

The people too reflected this harsh environment, which inclined them to inactivity:

This is why, extraordinarily numerous as the *Germani* are, they all possess the same physical characteristics – fierce blue eyes, red hair, and large frames which are good only for a spurt; they certainly have not a corresponding power of endurance for hard work, while, although inured by the nature of their climate and soil to hunger and cold, they have never learnt to support heat and thirst.⁸²

The Germanic people did not constitute a unified nation. They did not even call themselves *Germani* – that was a Roman term coined for them by Poseidonios (Posidonius) of Apameia (c.135–51 BCE) and popularised by Iulius Caesar in his *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* (*Commentaries on the Gallic War*).⁸³ The word derived from the Latin *germanus*, meaning ‘of the same parents’ as in a brother and sister, but it also meant ‘genuine’ or ‘true’. It was as though Poseidonius and Caesar were labelling them ‘not like us, but all related to each other’.⁸⁴ They were discrete tribes made up of clans and families, some sharing common ethnic groups, languages, histories, traditions and customs. Some appear to have been settled, while others were migrants who invaded the settled rural communities, often displacing them.⁸⁵ The smaller mobile warrior bands sometimes came together to form larger coalitions, such as the migrant Suebi or Suevi, the oldest of whom were reportedly the Semnones, and their neighbours the Langobardi, Hermunduri, Marcommani and many others.⁸⁶ The names by which the nations are known survive only in Roman accounts so we cannot even be sure the names are accurate. According to the accounts of Caesar and Tacitus, they were generally independent minded, preferring to

live in small villages and farmsteads rather than towns.⁸⁷ Archaeology suggests the settled Germanic nations lived close to rivers and like-social groups clustered together but separated from other different tribes.⁸⁸ They were not animal skin-wearing primitives, as the Roman stereotype suggests, however. They knew how to make textiles and work leather. Fighting was a way of life, however, both as a matter of pride through prowess in the use of weapons, but also a means of gaining status among peers and maintaining group cohesion and identity.⁸⁹ They elected leaders to lead war bands and raids, but many tribes did not tolerate the rule of hereditary kings.⁹⁰ A leader or king might build around him a circle of retainers and it was through successful raids that he kept them wealthy and loyal.⁹¹ The epicentre of their homeland was beyond the Rhine River, but there were some nations Caesar labeled *Germani Cisrhenani* who also lived on the left bank of the great river that divided barbarian from civilised Roman and which he chose as the limit to his conquests.⁹²

The political map of Germania Magna was thus fragmented and unstable. The contemporary geographer Strabo commented that different peoples at different times would grow powerful, strike out at their neighbors, then sue for peace, exchange hostages, grow restless and rebel, betraying both their word and the hostages they had exchanged.⁹³ *Germani* could not be trusted, if only because they did not trust each other. In the eyes of the Roman elites, the Germanic people were nothing more than *latrones*, bandits, and their raids into Roman territory annoying cases of criminal banditry (*latronicum*).⁹⁴ “Robberies which are committed beyond the boundaries of each state”, wrote Caesar, “bear no infamy, and they avow that these are committed for the purpose of disciplining their youth and of preventing sloth”.⁹⁵ Little wonder the people of *Tres Galliae* lived with the constant fear of unwelcome visits by their neighbours from over the Rhine. In Augustus’ new world order, this kind of behaviour on the borderlands could not be tolerated. The logical solution would lie in making Romans of the barbarians. However, the matter of outright annexation and assimilation raised deep concerns. “No man would think of abandoning Asia”, wrote Tacitus, “or Africa or Italia and seeking a home in Germania, with its dreary aspect and its social gloom, if it were not his native place”.⁹⁶

While touring *Tres Galliae* and its emerging *civitates*, Augustus probably visited the Rhine frontier in Belgica with Tiberius by his side and consulted local dignitaries and military

men to refine elements of the nascent campaign plan.⁹⁷ Tiberius had proved a capable soldier and brought his own independent views to the formative discussion. However, his eldest stepson was only in command of the legions in the region for a little over a year before the Alpine and Norican Wars interrupted his tour of duty when he was sent to assist Drusus. Since the beginning of 14 BCE Tiberius was back in the thick of politics and destined to serve his first term as consul in Rome the following year so it now fell solely upon the shoulders of 24-year old Drusus to oversee the execution of the tactical plan: the deployment and provisioning of the army, the construction of infrastructure, assembly of matériel and forging of alliances, and finally to timing.⁹⁸ However, with only a single combat season under his belt, he was still a novice, albeit a successful one. That Augustus remained in the region suggests he took an active interest in coaching Drusus and would stay until he was confident his youngest stepson was ready to proceed without him.

Under Drusus' direct command there were probably seven legions – XIII *Gemina*, XIV *Gemina* and XVI *Gallica* supplemented by the I *Germanica*, V *Alaudae*, XVII, XVIII and XIX he had taken over from Tiberius – and an unknown number of auxiliary units, perhaps among them units of the new *cohortes Alpinorum*, *Ligurum* and *Raetorum*.⁹⁹ The immediate task was to move them to new locations along the Rhine. In 14 BCE several were scattered across Reschen Pass, western Austria, Bavaria – such as *Legio* XIX at Döttenbichl in Oberammergau – and Switzerland. *Legio* XXI *Rapax*, whose nickname means 'predator', remained in Raetia or Vindelicia for the time being to provide an ongoing military presence, but VIII *Hispana* and possibly cohorts from XIII *Gemina* and all of XIV *Gemina* appear to have headed east with Tiberius to Pannonia or Illyricum. The main military presence at that time on the Rhine was likely at Oppidum Ubiorum close by the resettled Germans.¹⁰⁰ There was also a small fort at Neuss – called 'Neuss A' by archaeologists and dated to 16–12 BCE.¹⁰¹ Neuss A may have been constructed in the wake of the invasion led by Maelo of the Sugambri and his alliance partners by *Legio* V *Alaudae* to gather military intelligence about the activities of the Germanic tribes across the Rhine River or to provide an early warning system.¹⁰² The fort was irregular in shape with a double ditch, but curiously no rampart, enclosing an area of 6.5 hectares.¹⁰³ Significantly, the fort was connected to Lugdunum by road down the Erft River to Beda Vicus (Bitburg), thence through Augusta Treverorum

(Trier) to Divodurum (Metz), on to Andemantunnum (Langres) before finally reaching the provincial capital.¹⁰⁴

Drusus now set out to dominate the river by controlling lines of communication and trade.¹⁰⁵ Florus states that he established over fifty military bases (*castella*) on the river, though archaeology has failed so far to reveal this number of sites.¹⁰⁶ He specifically mentions bridges (*pontes*) being constructed at Borma or Bonna (Bonn?) and Gesoriacum (Boulogne?) and that Drusus “left fleets (*classes*) to protect them”.¹⁰⁷ Six new legionary fortresses were built at key strategic points along the lower and middle Rhine at Fectio (Vechten), Batavodurum (Nijmegen), Vetera (Xanten), Novaesium (Neuss), Oppidum Ubiorum (Cologne) and Mogontiacum (Mainz).¹⁰⁸ A military road connected the bases to facilitate the movement of men and matériel. Several smaller forts, presumably for auxiliary units, were constructed contemporaneously or slightly later along this road at Andernach, Argentorate (Strasbourg), Asciburgium (Moers Asberg), Bingen, Bonna (Bonn), Castellum apud Confluentes (Koblenz), Speyer, and Urmitz.¹⁰⁹ The locations of the fortresses suggest the region had been well surveyed by the Romans and that they were not picked at random. On the contrary they were very carefully chosen and intended to be the embarkation points for invasion routes into Germania and it is reasonable to assume that Augustus and Drusus had a major role in picking them. From Fectio and Batavodurum, the army could approach from the west, moving east towards the Ems River (Amisia) and then to the Weser River (Visurgis). From its bases further along the Rhine, the army could follow its tributaries reaching first the Weser River and then the Elbe River. From Vetera the Roman army could thrust into Germania Magna following the course of the Lippe River (Lupia). From Novaesium there was potential for a thrust up the Ruhr River (Rura). From Oppidum Ubiorum, Roman forces could go north to the Ruhr or march south to the Sieg River. From Mogontiacum the army could move along the Main River (Moenus) and then cross by land to the Saal River (Sala), a tributary of the Elbe. In each case the land army could be provisioned from supplies transported by rivercraft.

The most southerly fortress of the new offensive Rhine infrastructure was Mogontiacum, built on a 40 metre (131 feet) high bluff. The installation took its name from the god Mogon of the local Germanic Vangiones nation who had settled on the left bank.¹¹⁰ Several ramparts and ditches have been excavated in the modern era though it is difficult to form a plan from them of the

fortress of Drusus' time.¹¹¹ Two legions may have shared the camp, possibly *Legiones XIV Gemina* and *XVI Gallica*. Another military installation has been identified at Weisenau, about 3.5 kilometres (11.5 feet) south of the presumed legionary based at Mogontiacum.¹¹² It was sited on an escarpment overlooking the Rhine River. About 2 kilometres (1.2 miles) downstream of the winter camp, at Dimesser Ort, was a harbour. Great numbers of *amphorae*, the large two-handled pottery jars used in the Roman era for shipping dried fruits, grain, wine, oil and fish sauce (*garum*), as well as quantities of the waxy red *terra sigillata* ware that took pride of place on a Roman's dinner table, have been found there.¹¹³

Some 200 kilometers (124 miles) further down river, lay Oppidum Ubiorum. It was the marketplace of the Ubii nation founded when Agrippa granted them sanctuary on the Roman side of the Rhine in 39/38 BCE or 20/19 BCE.¹¹⁴ It was fast developing into an affluent commercial centre exploiting both its geographical location on the Rhine and its trading connections in Germania Libera. Tacitus mentions that the Ubii were relocated specifically so that they could assist the Romans in guarding that section of the river.¹¹⁵ The archaeological evidence suggests that the army was based here at different times over several years but that the successive military encampments were probably sited away from the civilian settlement.¹¹⁶ There is tantalizing evidence that *Legio XIX* was stationed here: a grafitto was found scratched into a fragment of waxy, red *terra sigillata* ware.¹¹⁷ It may have shared the camp with *Legio XVII*.

Novaesium ('Neuss A'), laying 50 kilometers (31 miles) northwest of Oppidum Ubiorum, was now redeveloped into a winter camp large enough for two legions.¹¹⁸ What archaeologists refer to as 'Neuss B' was polygonal in shape with a V-profile ditch 8–10 metres wide and 2 metres deep and in front of it a second ditch 6 metres wide. These defensive excavations enclosed an area of at least 27 hectares.¹¹⁹ Which legion was stationed here at this time is not preserved in the archaeological records, but it may have been *Legio XVII* or *XVIII*. A civilian settlement (*canabae*) grew up alongside the fort, the remains of which have been found at Selssche Ziegelei, along with pieces of pottery and some 3,000 coins, mostly dating to the reign of Augustus.¹²⁰ A wooden bridge was constructed to carry the military road uninterrupted over the marshy Meertal to the northwest.¹²¹

Vetera (Xanten) – the name means 'the old camp' – was

located 65 kilometers (40 miles) downstream from Novaesium between modern Birten and Xanten on the Rhine.¹²² Vetera I (as it is called by archaeologists) occupied a plot on the Fürstenberg standing 45.7 metres (150 feet) high above the floodplain.¹²³ It was strategically located directly opposite the mouth of the Lippe River (Lupia), which was one of the main routes into Germania Magna. Traces of sections of ditches, one at least 420 metres (1,378 feet) long, and wood-and-earth ramparts have been uncovered indicating that it was a large defended enclosure. The fortress may have been large enough for two units, with the most likely candidates being *Legiones V Alaudae* and XVIII.

To establish the remaining military bases, however, Drusus had first to negotiate with a local tribe – one that was officially outside the Roman Empire. His diplomatic skills would now be pressed into use.

Befriending the Batavi

Iulius Caesar was the first to report that the Batavi lived on an island in the River Rhine.¹²⁴ The so-called ‘island’ is actually the delta formed by the Meuse/Waal and Rhine rivers as they flow out to the North Sea. Tacitus writes that the Batavi were a splinter group of the Germanic Chatti nation that had emigrated west during a civil war, which is believed to have taken place sometime between 50–15 BCE.¹²⁵ These émigrés may have followed a single clan chief or king around whom they formed a distinct identity.¹²⁶ They were regarded as “the bravest race of all the Rhine country”.¹²⁷ They were known to the Romans as fine horsemen and for their ability to cross rivers in full armour.¹²⁸ Caesar was also the first Roman to employ them in his army.¹²⁹ Augustus deployed a unit of Batavi in his war against M. Antonius and later retained them in his service as a horse guard, so it is highly probable that Drusus had encountered them when he was growing up in Rome or on tour with this stepfather.¹³⁰ Dio, writing in the 220s CE, notes that they were still a special corps within the Roman army and bore ceremonial rods.¹³¹ In Drusus’ time, however, they remained outside the Roman Empire and were regarded as honoured allies.¹³² Their value to the Romans was clear: they were exceptional warriors, and like the most terrifying weapons, only to be used in times of war.¹³³ It was precisely such a force that Drusus needed for his campaign. Drusus was well aware of their formidable reputation and when he arrived in Gallia Belgica he was likely able to build on a pre-existing relationship.¹³⁴ Early in

his tenure as *propraetor* of Tres Galliae he would have approached the Batavi to recruit their men to join his campaign and negotiate for the rights to establish legionary camps in and around their territory. In this he was successful and work began on building the camps at Batavodurum and Fectio. Under Drusus, the Batavi would continue to be treated as special allies of the Romans: they were not subject to the usual obligation of providing tribute and Roman tax collectors were not permitted to enter their territory.¹³⁵ Thus, the alliance with Drusus further strengthened the identity of the Batavi as a separate nation with its own identity.¹³⁶ Drusus may even have had a patronal relationship with the Batavi as his clients.¹³⁷ In return for loyal service as his *clientes*, Drusus as their *patronus* would have had a responsibility for providing advice in the event of a dispute with other nations and representing the legal interests of the Batavi, protecting them in a Roman court or before the senate if necessary.

Drusus' legionary camp occupies an escarpment above the floodplain of the River Waal (Vahalis) 2 kilometres (1.2 miles) east of modern Nijmegen at a place called Hunerberg.¹³⁸ Measuring 650 metres (2,132.5 feet) by 650 metres (2,132.5 feet), at 42 hectares it was an enclosure large enough for two legions, which may have been *Legiones I Germanica* and *V Alaudae*. The Roman legionary fortress apparently lay between two native Batavian sites. At the same time the fortress was erected, the native settlers on the Kopse Hof may have been moved to make way for a smaller fort, possibly built to house Batavian cavalry in Drusus' employ.¹³⁹ The site has produced several spectacular Roman cavalry helmets and facemasks in recent years which have been dated to the Augustan era.¹⁴⁰ The exquisite quality of the armour and equipment emphasises the high value the Romans placed on their Batavian allies.

Drusus' Canal

The Batavi brought something else of great value to Drusus, and that was knowledge of the region of Batavia and what lay beyond to the north. It may have been when discussing the geography of the area – the coast, the land and its many rivers – with the Batavian king or clan chief that Drusus realized he could take the Roman army and attack the Germans from the rear by carrying out an invasion by sea. An amphibious landing may, of course, always have been part of the original conception for the campaign, but the extant sources do not indicate one way or the other. Having perhaps inspected the region for himself,

Drusus would have seen that the North Sea was treacherous and dangerous to a flotilla of ships carrying men and matériel sailing out via the mouths of the Rhine or Waal. By a leap of the imagination it may also have occurred to him or his advisors that there could be a quicker and safer way to reach the northeastern coast of Germania. To do so would mean digging a canal between the River Rhine and the large inland sea called Lacus Flevo (formerly the Zuiderzee, nowadays the IJsselmeer) allowing a fleet to sail into the relatively protected Wadden Sea.

The ‘Drusus Canal’ is mentioned by two Roman historians.¹⁴¹ Suetonius locates the canals – *fossae Drusinae* (note the plural) – “beyond the Rhenus” and says it took “immense exertion” to build them.¹⁴² They were still in operation at the time he wrote his *Lives of the Caesars* in the early second century CE.¹⁴³ Tacitus mentions the canal – *fossa Drusiana* (note the singular) – by name in the context of a later amphibious campaign under Germanicus in 16 CE.¹⁴⁴ He mentions too that “sixty-three years after Drusus” had built it, Pompeius Paulinus deployed his troops on the canal “to finish the *agger*” – a word translated variously as ‘embankment’ or ‘rampart’ – as a project to keep his otherwise idle troops’ hands occupied.¹⁴⁵ Other structures referred to as *moles* – translated as ‘dams’ or ‘dykes’ – were damaged during the revolt of Civilis and the Batavi in 69 CE.¹⁴⁶ The *moles* were presumably set in water, which may have been piers or dams and whose purpose is uncertain, but they could have been designed to divert river water.¹⁴⁷ At the same time Drusus was building his canal, in far away Caesarea Maritimae (Caesarea on the Sea) King Herodes’ engineers were using *moles* in the construction of the great harbour they called Sebastos, the Greek for Augustus, and in whose honour it was named. Begun in 22 or 21 BCE and already several years in the making, these *moles* were formed of giant man-made blocks laid one on top of the other in the sea and built up into jetties and breakwaters. Excavations have revealed the dimensions of at least one of these ‘blocks’ to be 11.5 metres (37.8 feet) long by 15.0 metres (49.2 feet) wide by 2.4 metres (7.9 feet) deep.¹⁴⁸ To make the blocks, engineers created box-like formworks of timber uprights and horizontal planking with elaborate lap joints and mortising, and tie beams to prevent them collapsing inwards.¹⁴⁹ The inner and outer sides of the formworks were filled with hydraulic mortar, then towed off shore and sunk. Rubble or aggregate (*caementa*) and mortar of volcanic *pozzolana* from Italy was poured into the open cavity, which cured by chemical interaction with the water to form concrete, and stone was laid

over the top above sealevel to form roadways. So far no Roman concrete dams have been found in The Netherlands and they may have actually been earth, rubble and timber constructions. The embankment or rampart, the *agger* of Drusus' Canal, was thrown up as part of the hydrological engineering works, perhaps as a flood defence, but its design and function is not well understood.¹⁵⁰

Scholars have for years debated the actual location of the canal but the whereabouts of the structure continues to elude them.¹⁵¹ A long held theory is the River IJssel was the course of the Drusus Canal. Recently found inscriptions (one is a dedication of the *praefectus* of *Cohors I civium Romanorum equitata*, the other is a tombstone of M. Manlius, a legionary of *Legio I*) identify structures called *moles* at Carvium, modern day Herwen, a small town near Arnhem, where remains of a Roman fort have been found at Meinerswijk.¹⁵² The most recent geological survey to date the Gelderse IJsell, however, concluded it was several hundred years later than the first century BCE Roman structure and so it could *not* be the route of the Drusus Canal.¹⁵³ An alternative theory advances that a channel was dug between the Oude Rijn and Vecht – using *moles* to redirect the flow of the Rhine – providing a direct passage into the Zuiderzee, while the installation was guarded by the garrison at the nearby fort at Vechten, which is presumed to be the location of Fectio.¹⁵⁴ Adding complexity to the debate, Suetonius' account infers there was more than one canal since he uses the plural form of the Latin word, *fossae*.¹⁵⁵ Based on this reading a recently articulated theory postulates that a second canal was dug at the northwestern shore of Lacus Flevo to provide an opening (*ostium*) directly into the Wadden Sea at Vlie, and thus allow shipping to avoid the treacherous North Sea *en route* to Germania. Evidence suggests that Lacus Flevo was originally landlocked and the open end of the lake did not exist until 1163, when the sea broke through and changed freshwater Lake Flevo into briney Zuiderzee.¹⁵⁶ The landscape of the The Netherlands may have changed just too much in the last two millennia to make possible a certain identification of the location of the *fossa Drusiana* (or *fossae Drusianae*) and reveal how its structures worked. Until better evidence is found, the Drusus Canal – or system of canals – remains an enigma. What can be said with certainty is that it was considered important enough in Roman times to be maintained as late as the third century CE when the nearby fort at Fectio is known from inscriptions to have still been in service as a naval base.¹⁵⁷

Traces of a fort have been found by archaeologists sited right next to the course of the old River Vecht.¹⁵⁸ Great rafts of timbers held together with a frame of planking around the edges to form a solid wall were uncovered which have been interpreted as a landing stage. However, this is one of several possible interpretations.¹⁵⁹

One thing is for certain, however: the backbreaking work of digging the canal fell to the regular legionaries of the Rhine army. Digging was part of everyday routine for a legionary. He knew that at the end of every route march a ditch, rampart and palisade had to be constructed before he could kip down for the night *sub papilio*. The ever-flexible legionary was part soldier, part engineer and part construction worker able to turn his hand to most building projects. Equipped with the iron *dolabra* (a versatile axe with a flat wedge-shaped blade on one side and a narrower blade or spike on the other), the *ligo* (a spade-like entrenching tool), a *corbis* (a basket of willow, reed or split oak), a saw and a length of rope or leather thong or chain, the legionary had all the tools he needed to cut the Batavian sod, remove the earth beneath and erect any wooden structures the *praefectus castrorum* might require.¹⁶⁰ Marius' mules had become Drusus' navvies.

In the two years since his appointment as governor, Drusus had applied himself with enthusiasm to the many tasks that came with the position. The three Gallic provinces were at peace, many of their cities and townships were developing into viable communities and the preparations for the invasion of Germania were well under way. His time in Tres Galliae was not all business, however. His family was growing – some time in 13 BCE Antonia delivered her next child, this time a daughter named Claudia Livia Iulia (Stemma Drusorum no. 14), better known as Livilla, 'little Livia'.¹⁶¹ In the official residence at Lugdunum, Drusus, Augustus and their wives had time for leisure. The contents of a letter from Augustus to Tiberius survives that preserves a cameo moment of the First Family at play during the *Quinquatria*, the five day festival of Minerva held 20–25 March:

We had, my dear Tiberius, a pleasant time of it during the festival of Minerva: for we played [the *tali*] every day, and kept the gaming board warm. Your brother uttered many exclamations at a desperate run of ill-fortune; but recovering by degrees, and unexpectedly, he in the end lost not much. I lost 20,000 sesterces for my part; but then I was profusely generous in my play, as I commonly am.¹⁶²

It is a rare and fascinating glimpse into the young man's

character. He plays with passion and takes bold gambles, but when faced with losing the game outright he applies himself with perseverance to claw back his losses, and all in good humour. These are traits of a confident and mature individual. In Drusus, Augustus had found his “safe commander”.¹⁶³ After three years away, Augustus was finally satisfied that the Tres Galliae were in good hands and that his commander of the Rhine army was capable of carrying out the mission. Early in 13 BCE he departed for Rome. There fecund River Tiber had overflowed its banks and flooded parts of the city and Tiberius – who had now had a son whom he named after his brother (better known to history as Drusus the Younger or Drusus Minor, *Stemma Drusorum* no. 16) – had been elected consul with P. Quinctilius Varus.¹⁶⁴

Chapter 4

Drusus the Explorer

12 BCE

A Conspiracy Exposed

Drusus was now governing Tres Galliae without Augustus looking over his shoulder. From his base at the Praetorium in Lugdunum the three provinces seemed to be at peace – but appearances were deceptive. The seeming calm belied in some segments of the population a deep current of resentment for wounds inflicted during Caesar's campaigns in the 50s BCE and the continuing Roman occupation. In some proud Gallic aristocrats the wound had not healed and it would still twinge now and then. Yet each time they had risen in revolt, the Romans had quashed them.¹ Perhaps the rate of progress may have been too fast for some tribal aristocracies?² For them the *census* which was now under way may have been one intrusion too many.³ With Augustus back in Rome leaving as his deputy a young man only 26-years old, and the legions now deployed along the Rhine, some Gallic tribal leaders saw an opportunity to assert their independence and foment rebellion.⁴

It was not long, however, before Drusus uncovered the plot. How he came to find out about it is not recorded, but as the governor of the Tres Galliae, Drusus had a sizeable official staff (*officium*), which included military messengers, clerks and specialists.⁵ In charge was a senior centurion (*princeps praetorii*) to whom reported two or three *cornicularii* or office managers who were themselves recruited from the centurionate. He would have as many as sixty *beneficarii* so-named because they had been given a special mission considered a benefit by a tribune or prefect.⁶ They were often located at road stations (*mansiones*) and staging posts (*mutationes*) at regular points along the highway network to oversee collection of taxes and control road traffic.⁷ One of these has been studied at Liberchies, Belgium (Geminiacum) and another at Billig, Germany.⁸ The more senior staff might have assistants (*adiutores*).⁹ To carry out the work of the administration there were accountants (*librarii*) and clerks responsible for documentation (*exacti*).¹⁰ *Commentarienses* were

associated with offices having legal duties and were largely non-military. Among the specialists, the *frumentarii* were responsible for administering the military grain supply (*frumentum*), and, on account of their need to travel to ensure the supply routes, may have doubled as a courier service – a role that would later see them become an imperial secret service.¹¹ *Speculatores* were escorts or bodyguards and scouts.¹² *Quaestionarii* were skilled at the grim techniques for extracting information under torture.¹³ In each of Gallia Aquitania, Gallia Belgica and Gallia Lugdunensis, Drusus' legates in turn had their own *officia* though on a smaller scale.¹⁴ Additionally guarding the imperial mint in Lugdunum was the 1,000-strong paramilitary *Cohors Urbanus*, which acted as a police force. Augustus had established the force only the previous year in Rome, with another possibly in Carthage.¹⁵ Combined these organisations provided Drusus with an extensive intelligence gathering operation across the region.

As with all good police work, they would need members of the public to come forward with information. There were likely to have been Gauls who had been approached by the conspirators and who, on account of their pro-Roman inclination or sense of loyalty to Drusus, had felt obliged to relay the information to the governor's staff. In Gallo-Roman society, which was built on granting favours and fulfilling obligations, demonstrating loyalty (*fides*) to one's patron (*patronus*) could advance an ambitious man's cause. Receiving the information Drusus acted quickly. Dio writes,

Drusus therefore seized the subject territory ahead of them, sending for the foremost men in it on the pretext of the festival, which they celebrate even now around the altar of Augustus at Lugdunum.¹⁶

The inference is that the festival – probably that of Lughnasa – was a regular event, but it is likely that the work on building the new sanctuary was not yet complete in 12 BCE.¹⁷ Drusus may have called the meeting on the pretence of discussing progress at the sacred site, or possibly to use the occasion to formally break ground, both of which would have merited the attendance of the Gallic chiefs. The request from Drusus was a clever ruse to expose the conspirators. To turn down the personal invitation of the *legatus augusti pro praetore* would be a serious lapse of etiquette and raise suspicions. Any chiefs that did not attend the meeting could be inferred to be worth interviewing as possibly being directly implicated in the plot or at least to be sympathetic to the cause. In any case, as a precaution, he sent in troops to the tribal areas under suspicion to secure them. There is some evidence that martial law was enforced in some areas of Tres

Galliae under local commissioners (*praefecti*).¹⁸

Meanwhile, across the Rhine, Maelo, warlord of the Sugambri nation, also saw a chance to make life difficult for his young Roman adversary since “the Sugambri and their allies had resorted to war, owing to the absence of Augustus and the fact that Gauls were restive under their slavery”.¹⁹ Whether the Germanic tribes were working in consort with the Gauls is not known, but it cannot be entirely ruled out. Shrewdly Drusus’ strategy was to let the Sugambri, Tencteri and Usipetes make the first move. Soon enough the news arrived. “He waited for the Germans to cross the Rhine,” says Dio, “and then repulsed them”.²⁰ With troops stationed along the length of the lower Rhine, news of a crossing could be quickly relayed by road and a force rallied where it was needed to intercept the invader. The course of the counter attack is also recorded:

Next he crossed over to the country of the Usipetes, passing along the very island of the Batavians, and from there marched along the river to the Sugambri territory, where he devastated much country.²¹

When faced with a direct attack, the usual response of the Sugambri was to retreat into the protective cover of the forests.²² The sacrifice was costly. Having abandoned their homes and farms, the Romans razed them to the ground at will.

With the Germans of the Rhineland neutralized, Drusus could now give the order for the main advance. The *Bellum Germanicum* had begun in earnest.

Amphibious Military Assault

The campaign season for the Romans typically ran from spring to late summer, which gave them a window of six months of fine weather before returning to their winter camps. Some time in April or May 12 BCE, the expeditionary force set off on its mission (map 6). The chosen point of embarkation was Batavodurum. Twenty-seven years later, Roman forces would assemble at this same point. Tacitus writes that,

the island of the Batavi was the appointed rendezvous because of its easy landing-places, and its convenience for receiving the army and carrying the war across the river. For the Rhine after flowing continuously in a single channel or encircling merely insignificant islands, divides itself, so to say, where the Batavian territory begins, into two rivers, retaining its name and the rapidity of its course in the stream which washes Germania, till it mingles with the ocean. On the Gallic bank, its flow is broader and gentler; it is called by an altered name, the Vahalís, by the inhabitants of its shore. Soon that name too is changed for the Mosa River, through whose vast mouth it empties itself into the same ocean.²³

There is no evidence of a bridge across the Waal River at this time. To ferry men of the Roman army across to their destination, the newly constructed fleet would now be pressed into action.

The choice of an invasion of the western shore of Germania Magna for the first phase of operations called for the construction of a large fleet to move the men and matériel as close as possible to the theatre of war. “By embarking on the sea,” writes Tacitus,

invasion would be easy for them, and a surprise to the enemy, while a campaign too would be more quickly begun, the legions and supplies would be brought up simultaneously and the cavalry with their horses would arrive, in good condition by the river-mouths and channel at the heart of Germania.²⁴

Much as the Romans did not like naval warfare as their preferred mode of combat, they nevertheless were competent sailors and marines and had used ships to great effect when they needed to throughout their history. They also recognised the need for different configurations of vessels depending on their cargoes. No description of Drusus’ navy survives, however, there is an account in Tacitus’ *Annales* of the kinds of ships constructed for the German campaign of 15 CE that departed from Batavodurum:

It seemed a thousand vessels were required, and they were speedily constructed some of small draught with a narrow stem and stern and a broad centre, that they might bear the waves more easily; some flat-bottomed, that they might ground without being injured; several, furnished with a rudder at each end, so that by a sudden shifting of the oars they might be run into shore either way. Many were covered in with decks, on which engines for missiles might be conveyed, and were also fit for the carrying of horses or supplies, and being equipped with sails as well as rapidly moved by oars, they assumed, through the enthusiasm of our soldiers, an imposing and formidable aspect.²⁵

Additionally, surviving on Trajan’s Column in Rome is a visual depiction of a Roman invasion fleet being loaded, at sail and being unloaded (plate 21). Several scenes show the types of vessels deployed during the First and Second Dacian Wars (101–102 CE and 105–106 CE respectively) carrying men, animals and equipment along the Danube River (Danuvius), which closely resemble Tacitus’ description.²⁶

There is the small cargo ship with its high bulwarks and wide bow, providing storage space for folded and bound leather tents or lashed barrels. This vessel is steered by two lateral steering-oars. The helmsman (*gubernator*) sits on a platform elevated high, protected by a railing, so that he has a clear view above

the heads of the oarsmen (*remeces*), of whom there was just one row on each side. In this craft, the oars rest on the top of the bulwarks. It was this type of ship that was used to build a pontoon bridge, by anchoring several side by side from one river bank to the other and laying planks over the sides to form a roadway, and railings along the length on both sides.²⁷

The transporter for horses and mules, a “tubby barge” or “pig” as it has been called, has different design features.²⁸ To create sufficient room for the animals and their handlers there is no bank of oars. Powering and steering the ship is achieved by the rowers each using their oars in tandem in the manner of Venetian gondola boatmen today. The bow of the ship is flatter and inclined downwards so that the ship can be manoeuvred on to a riverbank or beach. The animals are loaded onto the ship and disembarked from the front. The boat may have been large enough to carry one *turma* of 30 horses. Remains of a flat-bottomed, keel-less, iron-fastened ship made of oak were found at Blackfriars, London in 1962.²⁹ It was 17 metres (55 feet) long and instead of a keel had two planks running the full 11 metres (37 feet) of the hull, and a beam of 6 metres (20 feet). As a waterproof filler and sealant, the seams of the planks were caulked using a paste made of wood shavings and pitch.³⁰ It was capable of carrying up to 100 tons of cargo.

The amphibious assault ship for transporting ground troops may have been of the sea-going ‘bireme’ design, which the Romans called a ‘long ship’ (*navis longa*). As they copied this design of small, highly manoeuvrable ship from models developed by the Liburnians, a people who lived in Illyricum, it was often referred to as a ‘Liburnian’ (*liburna*). As shown on Trajan’s Column, it has a characteristic long narrow hull, an upwardly curving prow at water level, a high bulwark at the bow and an in-swinging bulwark at the stern. Modern estimates give the bireme a length of up to 33 metres (109 feet), and a width of 5 metres (16 feet) wide with a 0.91 metre (3 feet) draft.³¹ Two rows of oarsmen pulled eighteen oars per side. The crews could have been drawn from non-citizen provincials, probably local Gauls and Batavians, supplemented with freedmen – which raises the question of what to do with them once the fleet reached its destination because of their non-military status – or the soldiers rowed themselves.³² Tacitus says as much when he mentions “the enthusiasm of our soldiers” in the use of sails and oars in 15 CE.³³ The *liburna* has outriggers to accommodate the oarsmen on either side, seated in two tiers, one above the other. The ship could make more than 7 knots

under oars but up to 14 knots under sail.³⁴ The *gubernator* sat on an elevated platform so that he had an unobstructed view over the heads of the top deck upon which the troops being ferried assembled. A ship of this size could carry some 80-armed men, allowing for their arms, armour, and personal baggage. Sixty such biremes would be needed to transport a full legion.³⁵

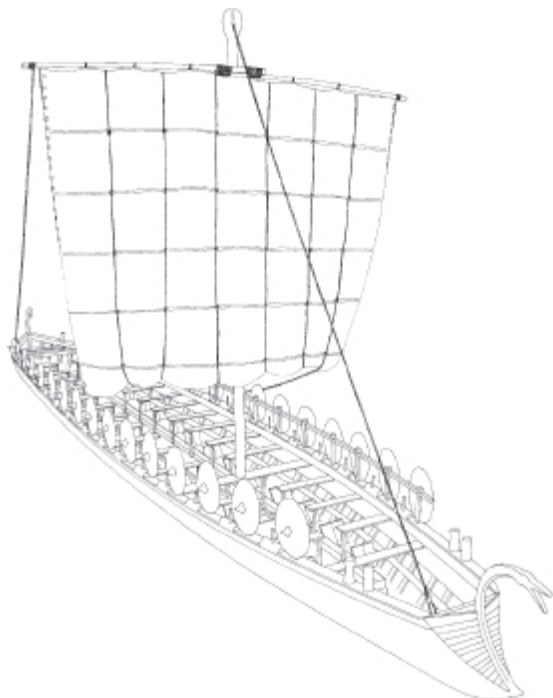


Figure 3: Reconstruction of a troop transport based on the ship labelled 'Mainz 1'. Built three hundred years after Drusus' campaigns it nevertheless typifies the kind of craft – powered by oar or sail – he used to ferry his troops into Germania Magna.

Recent finds in Oberstimm and Mainz, however, point to a more modest design of troop transport. In 1986 two ships were uncovered west of a Roman fort at Oberstimm near Ingolstadt on a tributary of the Danube River.³⁶ The ships were dated dendrochronologically to 80–110 CE. One of the ships measured 15.70 metres (51.5 feet) long, 2.70 metres (8.9 feet) wide and 1 metre (3.3 feet) high and there was evidence for a crew of 20, with 10 oarsmen on each side (fig. 3). The ship could also move under sail. Its planks were made of fir assembled with mortice and tenon joints secured with wooden pegs while its keel was made of oak. Under the auspices of the University of Hamburg a faithful reconstruction of this ship was launched in 2008.³⁷ In tests the ship named *Victoria* proved very swift, achieving speeds of 5 knots under oar and 7.4 under sail, and in tests was remarkably manoeuvrable being able to turn a full 180 degrees in just 30 seconds.³⁸

Five years earlier, while the foundations of the Hilton Hotel were being dug between Löhrrstraße and Rheinstraße in Mainz, remains of five Roman ships were uncovered. Now housed in the Museum for Ancient Shipping of the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, they have been thoroughly studied and exquisite reconstructions made of them.³⁹ The ships date to the late third and early fourth centuries CE. The remains revealed that the ships measured between 17 and 21 metres (55.8 to 69.0 feet) in length, their maximum height was 90 centimetres (35.4 inches) and the width at midship of the largest vessel was a little over 2.7 metres (8.9 feet).⁴⁰ The dimensions of the Mainz vessels suggest a crew of 27 to 35 men of whom between 24 and 32 were oarsmen sitting 12 to 16 in each row. The crew would have been joined by a steersman and two additional men to operate the sails.

The Oberstimm and Mainz vessels seem to better fit Tacitus' description of ships with a "small draught with a narrow stem and stern and a broad centre".⁴¹ The design and size of these craft mean that the soldiers must have rowed themselves. Three or more of these ships would have been required to ferry a full *centuria*. A recent estimate of the shipping required for the expeditionary force for the conquest of Britannia in 43 CE under A. Plautius, in which four legions (20,000 men at arms), ten *alae* (5,000 men) and auxiliary cohorts (15,000 men) were deployed, including 8,250 animals plus wagons and supplies, suggests 933 vessels were needed.⁴² This is remarkably close to the 800 ships in Iulius Caesar's fleet, which carried his men to Britannia in 54 BCE, and the 1,000 ships commissioned for the expedition into

Germania in 15 CE.⁴³ Assuming three ships were required to ferry a *centuria*, and there were sixty centuries to a legion, that 1,000 ships equates to five legions in the case of the expedition under Germanicus.⁴⁴ To build a fleet of such a size required a massive supply of timber. Recent work around the site of Batavodurum reveals that the Kops Plateau near Nijmegen was once originally densely wooded with oak and birch trees, but these were completely cleared away in the Augustan period.⁴⁵ Were they felled to provide the wood required to build the Roman invasion fleet? It seems likely. The cleared land would have also provided a convenient assembly point for the expeditionary force.

The Rhineland Germanic nations having been quelled, the legions returned to their ships and Drusus gave the order for the invasion of Germania by sea and the fleet now “sailed down the Rhine to the ocean” (plate 22).⁴⁶ The *Fossa Drusiana* provided safe passage for the fleet between the Rhenus or Vahalís rivers into the calm waters of Lacus Flevo. The geography of the Low Countries has changed greatly since Roman times. Then Lacus Flevo was a smaller body of water than today’s Lake IJssel (IJsselmeer). Nowadays, IJsselmeer is a lake of 1,100 square kilometres (424.7 square miles) in the central Netherlands region bordering the provinces of Flevoland, North Holland and Friesland. It is quite shallow with an average depth of 5 to 6 metres (15 feet to 19 feet). The present IJsselmeer was created in 1932 when the Zuiderzee, an inland sea, was closed by a 32 kilometre (20 mile) long dam, as part of a major hydraulic engineering project. In Drusus’ time Lacus Flevo was about half the size of the modern IJsselmeer. Nevertheless, as the crow flies, the distance between Batavodurum and the passage out to the North Sea (Ostium Flevum) was around 230 kilometres (143 nautical miles). Travelling at 5 knots per hour the fleet could cover around 40 nautical miles per day, allowing for rest breaks and assuming no problems *en route*, and could reach Ostium Flevum in a little under four days. However, Drusus appears to have wanted to make contact with the local inhabitants of the region and that would have slowed the rate of advance. From his experience with the Batavi, he had learned that there was much to be gained by making an ally out of a would-be adversary. They could provide him men to supplement his forces, pilots to navigate the unfamiliar sea and translators to promote understanding. Furthermore, making for landfall at the end of each day would have also allowed the men and animals to rest and recuperate for the next leg of the voyage.

On the western shore of Lacus Flevo lived a community called the Cananefates. “This is a tribe,” says Tacitus, “which inhabits part of the island, and closely resembles the Batavians in their origin, their language, and their courageous character, but is inferior in numbers”.⁴⁷ Then as now, this region is noted for its sandy soil, which is suitable for bulbous vegetables. It gave the inhabitants their name, which meant the ‘leek growers’. Even today the area is famed for tulips.⁴⁸

On the eastern shore of the lake lived the Frisii nation. About them Tacitus writes that they are distinguished

according to the relative strength of their divisions, into the Greater Frisians and the Lesser. Both divisions live beside the Rhine bank down to the ocean, and also around the margin of those vast lagoons along the coast which Roman ships have sailed.⁴⁹

With his charm and willingness to engage in diplomacy, Drusus “won over the Frisians” and signed a treaty with them.⁵⁰ The choice of words suggests no blood was spilled during the encounter. Indeed, the good will generated by the initial meeting led to men of the Frisii serving with the Roman army from that time during this and other campaigns for which they were organised into their own auxiliary units.⁵¹

Drusus’ army then proceeded on across the lake.⁵² The modern landscape around IJsselmeer is largely deforested but in Drusus’ time the land was densely covered with trees. Having seen them with his own eyes, naturalist Pliny the Elder vividly describes the problem the high density of trees posed for military operations:

The very shores are lined with oaks, which manifest an extraordinary eagerness to attain their growth: undermined by the waves or uprooted by the blasts, with their entwining roots they carry vast forests along with them, and, thus balanced, stand upright as they float along, while they spread afar their huge branches like the rigging of so many ships. Many is the time that these trees have struck our fleets with alarm, when the waves have driven them, almost purposely it would seem, against their prows as they stood at anchor in the night; and the men, destitute of all remedy and resource, have had to engage in a naval combat with a forest of trees!⁵³

Factoring in Drusus’ excursions to meet the Cananefates and Frisii and the need for the captains to navigate their ships through flotsam and jetsam so reducing the speed to below 5 knots, the journey to Ostium Flevum could have taken two weeks. That would take the campaign through to mid May or early June 12 BCE.

Once out of the relative calm of Lacus Flevo, Drusus’ army

sailed into the region now called the Wadden Sea. Today it is a channel that lies between the coast of northwestern continental Europe and the range of Frisian Islands, forming a shallow body of water with tidal flats, salt marshes and wetlands (plate 23). It stretches from Den Helder in the Netherlands in the southwest, past the great river estuaries of Germany to its northern boundary at Skallingen north of Esbjerg in Denmark. Over the millennia, erosion from waves and currents has changed the shape of the coastline in parts. In Drusus' day, there may have been fewer islands than today. Between Ostium Flevum and the estuary of the Amisia River was a journey of 94 nautical miles (150 kilometres). Nevertheless the relatively short distance was made difficult by the tides of the North Sea – particularly the area of German Bight – which were completely unfamiliar to the captains (*navarchi*) of the Roman fleet. They would need to quickly master the ebb and flow of the local tides to reach their destination safely.

Drusus' expeditionary force had met no resistance thus far but they knew that sooner or later they would. The geographer Strabo writes that Drusus “had subjugated, not only most of the tribes, but also the islands along the coast, among which is Burchanis, which he took by siege”.⁵⁴ The identity of Burchanis is often interpreted to be Borkum, which is today the largest and westernmost of the East Frisian Islands in the North Sea. However, another contender is Bant, a large island which has since receded into the Wadden Sea. With their usual talent for naming places, the Romans nicknamed it Fabaria, meaning ‘Bean Island’, because of the wild beans (*fabae*) that grew there.⁵⁵ Who opposed Drusus is not specified, though faced with several hundred warships, many equipped with artillery weapons mounted on turrets, resistance would not have lasted long.

Advance into Germania Magna

Arriving at the mouth of the Ems River (Ostium Amisium), part of the fleet continued to sail north along the coast. Tacitus' account infers that the expedition was not exclusively military but had an exploratory dimension.⁵⁶ The expedition may have been on a secret mission to circumnavigate the North Sea as far the Pillars of Hercules in the Caspian Sea or even beyond.⁵⁷ Agrippa's *Orbis Terrarum* unmistakably showed the Mare Caspium as a large bay along the northern shoreline of Asia. He did not know that there was no direct route to the Caspian Sea, the world's largest lake, which is of course landlocked. Yet it seems they tried. There are tantalising references to the fleet

having travelled far beyond the mouth of the Elbe River and reaching a place called the *promontorium Cimbrorum* (presumed to be Jutland) where the crews learned about, or were actually able to gaze out across, “an immense sea” which they believed extended to the lands of the Scythians.⁵⁸ It was a milestone in Roman history. The crews may have had among their number philosophers of nature – Roman scientists studying astronomy, cosmology and the natural world – and mapmakers. The sources do not explicitly say one way or the other and even if they did their written reports and charts have not survived. However, the Romans were meticulous record keepers and their written observations may have been available to later commentators such as Pliny the Elder and Pomponius Mela. The expedition to seek out new lands and new peoples had to be abandoned, however, when halted by Nature herself: perhaps the ships were unsuited to the unpredictable currents of the Baltic Sea or North Sea or they were just prevented from going further by bad weather.⁵⁹ Yet Drusus had made his mark: up to that time no Roman army had travelled so far north and that accolade was now his. His army of the eagles was the first – and probably the last – to do so.

The rest of the fleet had meantime turned inland and berthed in the relative safety of what is now the Dorlar Estuary.⁶⁰ The troops may have disembarked entirely or in part. Tough and fearless though the Romans were by reputation, their superstitious natures could sometimes get the better of them. When Iulius Caesar’s army arrived at the southern shore of Britannia in 55 BCE the legionaries would not at first disembark. Caesar describes the scene:

And while our men were hesitating [whether they should advance to the shore], chiefly on account of the depth of the sea, he who carried the eagle of *Legio X*, after supplicating the gods that the matter might turn out favorably to the legion, exclaimed, “Leap, fellow soldiers, unless you wish to betray your eagle to the enemy. I, for my part, will perform my duty to the *res publica* and my commanding officer.” When he had said this with a loud voice, he leaped from the ship and proceeded to bear the eagle toward the enemy. Then our men, exhorting one another that so great a disgrace should not be incurred, all leaped from the ship. When those in the nearest vessels saw them, they speedily followed and approached the enemy.⁶¹

It was a junior officer not Caesar who rallied his *commilitiones*. Drusus could similarly count on the courage of his officers in a difficult situation – men who would lead by example. The Wadden Sea shoreline had an alien character and under certain lights the land and sea can appear indistinguishable. As a soldier

Pliny the Elder had witnessed the effect first hand. “In those climates,” wrote Pliny the Elder,

a vast tract of land, invaded twice each day and night by the overflowing waves of the ocean, opens a question that is eternally proposed to us by Nature, whether these regions are to be looked upon as belonging to the land, or whether as forming a portion of the sea?⁶²

An acute observer of the natural world, Pliny was fascinated by this foreign landscape. It may have been a rainy day under a dark gun-metal sky when he first saw it: even today the coast can look unwelcoming when a cold wind blows off the sea. However, he only describes the marsh and wet-lands which were not protected by dykes in the first century CE, and does not comment on the islands with their Geest cores, sand bars and Geest ridges. His description tends to over dramatise the starkness of the coastline at the expense of an accurate description of it.⁶³ Nevertheless, the shoreline may have unsettled some of Drusus troops as they disembarked.

Onto this alien world, the Romans had landed. Without further delay, Drusus then “invaded the country of the Chauci,” the people who lived in the region now called Lower Saxony (Niedersachsen).⁶⁴ “I myself have personally witnessed the condition of the Chauci,” wrote Pliny the Elder around 65 CE in his *Natural History*, “both the Greater and the Lesser, situated in the regions of the far North”.⁶⁵ He portrays the Chauci as a people living a life barely above subsistence-level:

Here a wretched race is found, inhabiting either the more elevated spots of land, or else eminences artificially constructed, and of a height to which they know by experience that the highest tides will never reach. Here they pitch their cabins; and when the waves cover the surrounding country far and wide, like so many mariners on board ship are they: when, again, the tide recedes, their condition is that of so many shipwrecked men, and around their cottages they pursue the fishes as they make their escape with the receding tide.⁶⁶

These artificial hilltop homes are called *terpen* and still found in the Dutch provinces of Friesland and Zeeland. They rise to a height of 15 metres (24 feet) and the earliest ones have been dated to 500 BCE. Some 1,200 *terpen* have been identified in Groningen and Friesland, but they are known to have also existed in Germany and Southern Denmark.⁶⁷ They were a practical response by a community against frequent flooding, rather than an indicator of its poverty.

The Roman writer insists that the Chauci lived a meager existence. Pliny observes

It is not their lot, like the adjoining nations, to keep any flocks for

sustenance by their milk, nor even to maintain a warfare with wild beasts, every shrub, even, being banished afar. With the sedge and the rushes of the marsh they make cords, and with these they weave the nets employed in the capture of the fish; they fashion the mud, too, with their hands, and drying it by the help of the winds more than of the sun, cook their food by its aid, and so warm their entrails, frozen as they are by the northern blasts; their only drink, too, is rainwater, which they collect in holes dug at the entrance of their abodes: and yet these nations, if this very day they were vanquished by the Roman people, would exclaim against being reduced to slavery! Be it so, then – Fortune is most kind to many, just when she means to punish them.⁶⁸

Pliny had seen it first hand, yet strangely this portrayal is not entirely borne out by the archaeological record either, since the Chauci are known to have raised cattle and supported cavalry-troops. Evidence from the earliest occupation levels excavated at Feddersen Wierde, a site just north of Bremerhaven in Niedersachsen, suggest a more sophisticated lifestyle. The settlement there consisted of five farmsteads of equal size, each comprising a long roofed building constructed of timber, subdivided into space for people at one end and ninety-eight stalls for livestock at the other.⁶⁹

Relying on others' accounts, Tacitus preferred to see the Chauci as independent, principled and proud:

The noblest of the Germans, they desire to preserve their high place by righteous dealing. Neither greedy nor violent, they live quietly by themselves, provoking no wars and making no raids and forays in quest of plunder. Of their strength and valour there can be no better proof than the fact that they do not resort to wrong in order to maintain their superiority. But every man of them has his arms ready, and, if occasion demands, they can put an army in the field and march with very many men and very many horses. Thus they succeed in combining peace with honour.⁷⁰

What their initial impression of the Romans was, with their vast fleet of ships and huge numbers of men and animals arriving *en masse*, is not recorded. The Chauci remained loyal treaty allies of the Romans for many years and, having established contact with them, engaged in commercial activities. The community at Feddersen Wierde grew through trade with the Roman Rhineland over the first two centuries CE and at its peak the stall capacity had risen to 443. The occupants enjoyed Roman imports of the Gallic *terra sigillata* pottery, decorated brooches, glassware, and even an ivory handled fan has been found.⁷¹

Supported by the fleet, and its new Germanic allies, the army continued its march deep into Germania following the course of the Ems River (Amisia or Amisius *fluvius*). Today the Ems River is 371 kilometres (231 miles) long. Its source is a spring in the

Teutoburg Forest at Schloß Holte-Stukenbrock in North Rhine-Westphalia. Though it is not navigable for modern ships beyond about half way upstream, the smaller oared Roman vessels could penetrate probably much further (plate 21). In the southern Emsland region today, the riverside landscape is dominated by green meadows but sweeping stretches of bogs, marshes, moorland and heath were more widespread in ancient times, limiting where the Romans could land. Out of this peaceful idyll sprung a trap. Somewhere along its meandering length Drusus' fleet was attacked on the river by warriors of the Bructeri nation.⁷² The Bructeri were a belligerent people, who, by Tacitus' account, were resented by their neighbours on account of "their overbearingness".⁷³ The character of the Bructerian attack is not detailed but we may deduce that the Germanic opponent could take to the river in skiffs or canoes to try and board the Roman ships. They could also launch missiles and throw flaming torches from the safety of the riverbank to set the Roman vessels alight; and cut down trees and float them in the water to block the Romans' southward advance or their retreat downstream. The supply vessels were particularly vulnerable, being filled with flammable cargo and dry goods. The deck-mounted artillery weapons on the Roman ships were pressed into action to pick off the Bructeri attackers. Superior Roman arms and discipline prevailed and in Strabo's concise but grand phrase "Drusus won a naval victory over the Bructeri".⁷⁴

It was now late in the campaign season. During this first phase of the German War no Roman troops would be encamped beyond the Rhenus River. Probably at the urging of his deputies, Drusus gave the order to head home. This meant retracing the route along the Amisia River to the estuary where the bulk of the fleet had likely remained. Unfamiliar with the tides of the North Sea, Drusus and his naval advisors miscalculated the timing of their departure. Off the coast of Frisia "he ran into danger, as his ships were left high and dry by the ebb of the ocean".⁷⁵ With ships marooned on the wet sand the situation could have quickly turned desperate. Luckily he could call on his local allies for help. He was saved on this occasion by the Frisians "who had joined his expedition with their infantry, and withdrew, since it was now winter".⁷⁶ The reference to winter suggests Drusus had overextended the campaign. It would not be the first time. His eagerness for glory was perhaps sometimes too powerful a drive in him. Chastened – but not undaunted – by the experience the Roman commander and his fleet made their way back to the winter camps along the Rhenus River.

Drusus did not remain in camp but made his way by road back to Rome where he spent the winter with his wife and family, no doubt to be fully debriefed by Augustus and his brother Tiberius. Augustus was evidently pleased by his stepson's achievements. He was rewarded with the office of *praetor urbanus*.⁷⁷ Although Drusus was already of praetorian rank with his own province, the title was still considered an honour because it was once the chief magistrate for the administration of civil justice between Roman citizens. The *praetor urbanus* was also responsible for the Apollinarian Games (*ludi Apollinares*) held annually on 13 July in the Circus Maximus in honour of Apollo, Augustus' patron god.⁷⁸ More significantly it paved the political way for Drusus to be elected consul.⁷⁹

Drusus' voyage into the unknown and his campaign in Germania was the talk of Rome. The moneyer L. Caninius Gallus captured the mood of celebration in a shiny new silver *denarius*.⁸⁰ It showed an unmistakably Germanic man with a pointed beard and long shaggy hair, naked save for a rough cloak on his back. He is shown kneeling, offering up a *vexillum* standard in a mark of humility (plate 24). Not since Iulius Caesar had taken a fleet and landed in Britannia in 55 BCE had there been such excitement. "Drusus was the first of all the Roman generals who navigated the Northern Ocean", wrote Suetonius proudly, and to be first to do so made the achievement all the more notable.⁸¹ At the end of the first campaign season Drusus could also count among his achievements the exposure and suppression of a revolt, the neutralization of the Rhineland Germanic nations, the recruitment of new allies bound by treaty, a successful amphibious invasion, a naval victory and penetration deep into Germania. Just as Alexander the Great had pushed the frontier of the known world further east than any Greek speaker before him, so it could now be said that Drusus had extended Rome's reach further north and northeast than any of his countrymen before. It was an achievement Augustus celebrated in his own account of his lifetime's accomplishments, the *Res Gestae*, in which he writes

I sailed my ships on the ocean from the mouth of the Rhine to the east region up to the borders of the Cimbri, where no Roman had gone before that time by land or sea, and the Cimbri and the Charydes and the Semnones and the other Germans of the same territory sought by envoys the friendship of me and of the Roman people.⁸²

In triumphant terms, Pliny the Elder writes seventy or so years after the voyage,

The whole of the western ocean is now navigated, from Gades and the Pillars of Hercules, round Hispania and Gallia. The greater part of the northern ocean has also been navigated, under the auspices of Augustus, his fleet having been carried round Germania to the promontory of the Cimbri; from which spot they descried an immense sea, or became acquainted with it by report, which extends to the country of the Scythians, and the districts that are chilled by excessive moisture.⁸³

Echoing these lofty sentiments, Tacitus writes in almost mystical terms:

Our vessels have ventured far even on the Oceans of the North, and rumour brings a tale of Pillars of Hercules that stand there unto this day; whether it be true that Hercules ever visited the spot, or that we by common consent attach his name to imposing objects everywhere. There was no lack of daring in Drusus Germanicus, but Ocean barred his way; the secrets of Ocean and Hercules were not pried into. After him no one made the attempt; and it has been deemed more pious and reverent to believe than to know, when the doings of the gods are in question.⁸⁴

The names of Drusus and Hercules are subtly but intentionally associated. The same connection had been made for Alexander.⁸⁵ When the year 12 BCE drew to a close, Drusus was only 26 years old – the same age the Macedonian had been when he reached the Persian capital Persepolis.

The year was tinged with sadness, however. M. Vipsanius Agrippa had died before reaching Rome. He was just 51. Augustus was devastated by the loss of his best friend upon whom he had relied for so much of the day-to-day running of the state for so long. After the state funeral, he needed a new fixer, someone he could rely on to see his wishes through. Tiberius now became his right-hand man. His friend's death also left Iulia a widow, but she would not be alone for long. Augustus insisted that Tiberius divorce his present wife, Vipsania Agrippina, with whom he was very much in love, and marry his daughter instead. Tiberius' protestations came to nought and they settled down to an unhappy marriage.⁸⁶ Watching his brother's life being turned inside out Drusus must have wondered what plans Augustus had for him.

Chapter 5

Drusus the Commander

11–10 BCE

Once More Unto the Breach

In the spring of 11 BCE, with the western coastal region nominally under – or at least not hostile to – Roman control, Drusus turned his attention to the interior lands (map 7). From Vetera, he crossed the Rhine taking with him all or parts of *Legiones I Germanica*, *V Alaudae* and XVII, XVIII and XIX plus cohorts of *auxilia*.¹ They followed the meandering course of the 220 kilometre (136.7 mile) long Lippe River (Lupia) and immediately engaged the Tencteri and Usipetes.² The Usipetes – or Usipii – were close allies of the Tencteri to the south, and not much else is known about them.³ They lived between the Rhine and Lippe Rivers and became known to Iulius Caesar during his campaigns in Gallia. In 55 BCE news of Caesar's defeat of the Eburones reached the people across the Rhine.⁴ Seeking their share of the plunder and corn the Tencteri and Usipetes united and crossed the Meuse River, and instantly became a problem for Caesar.⁵ He engaged them and in the ensuing rout, the Germanic tribes retreated upriver. In the opening weeks of Drusus' invasion the Usipetes were overcome just as easily as four decades before.

Drusus had paid very particular attention to building out military infrastructure on the left bank of the Rhine prior to the invasion and, having landed on the right bank, immediately began to install the supply depots and accommodations that would support the forward advance. The temporary fortress established on the right bank of the Rhine at Dorsten-Holsterhausen, 36 kilometres (22.4 miles) east of Vetera, and which was large enough for two legions, may date from this time.⁶ Marching further inland Drusus ordered a bridge to be constructed over the Lupia and promptly marched his men across it.⁷ They were now in the country of the Sugambri nation, modern Sauerland.⁸ The Sugambri – or Sicambri or Sygambri – were a tough, proud people who let no obstacles stand in their way. “Neither morass nor forest obstructs these men, born

amidst war and depredations,” noted Caesar.⁹ They appear to have been related to the Belgae, based on a study of their names, many of which end in –ix, such as Baetorix and his son Deudorix. Baetorix was the brother of Maelo who, as war chief, led the alliance of Sugambri, Tencteri and Usipetes in the raid into Gallia in 17 BCE leading to the *clades Lolliana* which gave Augustus his reason to launch a war.¹⁰ Maelo was still war chief of the Sugambri at the time of Drusus’ invasion.

The Sugambri first enter the written record in the account of Julius Caesar’s *Gallic War*. It was to the sanctuary of the Sugambri nation that the Tencteri and Usipetes had fled in 55 BCE when pursued by the Romans. Caesar sent an emissary to demand the hand-over of the men who had invaded Gaul. The Sugambri refused, insisting that the Rhine River marked the limit of Roman power. Shortly after that episode Caesar decided to build his famous bridge and to take the war to the Germanic nations. Ten days later, his bridge having been built, he marched his men into Sugambri territory.¹¹ He found the people had disappeared – the Sugambri had been tipped off and retreated into the forest. He burned their villages and buildings and cut down their corn crop as punishment for their intransigence.¹² It was not a happy start to the relationship between these peoples. Two years later, Caesar was back in the territory of the Eburones and, lured by the promise of loot, the Sugambri saw a chance to stake their own claim on the defeated tribe’s possessions. Gathering up 2,000 cavalry they took to boats and crossed the river thirty miles downstream from the site of Caesar’s bridge and garrisons so that they could move unobserved.¹³ They gathered up all the roaming cattle they could find and planned to move further inland in search of loot. They headed south towards Atuatuca (Tongeren), but were repulsed and crossed back to their homeland with their prizes.

The Sugambri did not take defeat lightly and neither did they tolerate those who would not ally themselves with them in pursuit of a common foe. Dio records that they were angry at the Chatti for not having stood with them on their raid into Gaul in 17 BCE.¹⁴ Six years later the men of the Sugambri massed for a punitive raid on their neighbours and abandoned their homesteads for the season. The Chatti – or Catti or Catthi – were one of the Germanic nations not mentioned in Caesar’s *Gallic War* and were possibly not well known at the start of Drusus’ campaign. The earliest written source we have is that of Strabo who located them in the mountains and valleys of the Elder, Fulda and upper reaches of the Weser River, in what is now

modern Hessen.¹⁵ The best account of them, however, is preserved in Tacitus who calls the Chatti “the children of the Hercynian Forest”.¹⁶ He describes them as “distinguished beyond their fellows by their singularly hardy frames, well-knit limbs, resolute eyes and by a remarkable energy of spirit”.¹⁷ In contrast to most Germanic communities which eschewed urban living, the capital city of the Chatti was called Mattium (near modern Kassel) and located in the defensible Taunus mountains.¹⁸ Tacitus was struck by their similarities between the Chatti and his own countrymen. “Their whole strength is in foot soldiers,” he writes, “who, besides carrying their arms, are loaded with tools and supplies” (just as legionaries did).¹⁹ They posted pickets by day and dug ditches around their camps at night (in the same way legions did). They also followed the orders of their leaders, whom they elected, and they fought in formations which they kept in the heat of battle (exactly like the legions following their praetors or consuls). Unlike their barbarian neighbours who “came out for a single battle” the Chatti engaged in campaigns, and

seldom make mere raids or allow themselves to be drawn into a casual encounter: it is cavalry, to be sure, from which one expects a quick success or a quick retreat; speed goes with timidity, slowness is more allied to steadiness.²⁰

Pitted against such an opponent the Sugambri were in for a hard fight. Where the Sugambri made war with their hearts, the Chatti campaigned with their heads.

Their decision to wage war on each other was a tremendous stroke of good luck for Drusus. He apparently encountered no resistance and was able to move his expeditionary force freely through Sugambri territory unimpeded.²¹

By following the twisting and turning course of the Lippe River in an easterly direction Drusus would have ultimately reached its source at Bad Lippspringe on the edge of the Teutoburg Forest (plate 25). This was the homeland of the Cherusci nation. The Cherusci have gone down in history as the tribe that produced Arminius, or Hermann the German, who defeated Roman ambitions at Teutoburg in 9 CE. In 11 BCE he was just six years old, but his father Segimer and uncle Inguiomer were already accomplished warriors.²² The Cherusci first appear in the Roman literature with Iulius Caesar where they are mentioned as neighbours of the hostile Suebi and separated by a forest called Bacenis which provided them protection from raids and attacks.²³ Tacitus mentions their other neighbouring tribes as the Chauci and Chatti.²⁴ Pliny the Elder

places them as members of the Hermunduri community comprising the Suebi, Hermunduri and Chatti.²⁵ On the outbound march Drusus may have avoided the Cherusci, but they would not remain strangers for long.

Beyond where Anreppen now stands the Lippe River eventually becomes difficult for boats to navigate. The course of the Lippe has changed over the last two millennia but at some point along this stretch of the river the expeditionary force struck out across country towards the Weser River (Visurgis) east-northeast in the general direction of modern Minden or southeast towards Göttingen – the extant sources are unclear on this point. Eventually the Romans reached its right tributary source, the Werra River. The army would have struck temporary camps each night but these leave only faint traces and most have been lost or not yet identified. It must have been with great disappointment that Drusus listened to the advice of his legates and camp prefects. Supplies, or the dwindling level of them, would not permit Drusus to cross the Weser River this campaign season without endangering the mission.²⁶ He was still in hostile territory, the summer was over and winter was in prospect. Tactically he had no choice but to turn back and head for Vetera.

Another event is recorded that likely tipped the balance for Drusus. In his marching camp an unusual – and to the Romans' sensibilities a very disturbing – event took place. Outside the tent of *praefectus castrorum* Hostilius Rufus bees were seen swarming.²⁷ Specifically they swarmed one of the poles and guy ropes holding up the tent.²⁸ The ancients paid particular attention to the behaviour of bees, which were seen as winged messengers of the gods.²⁹ The augurs were called without delay to interpret the meaning of the swarming insects.³⁰ Their reading of the omens was treated with utmost gravity and respect and in hushed silence they studied the buzzing creatures for signs of divine intent. Finally they pronounced that the auguries appeared to signal danger, possibly even a defeat ahead for the Romans.³¹ Drusus, they said, should tread carefully through Germania. It was enough to convince him. The campaign was suspended for the year and Drusus gave the order to begin the 300 kilometre (186.4 mile) journey that lay between them and home to the west.

Germanic Warfare

What we know of the Germanic warrior comes mainly from Greek- and Latin-speaking Roman authors. At this time, the

Germans wrote nothing down. Some evidence survives in the archaeological record to give us a material picture of his arms and armour. Yet his reputation has survived the ages: fierce to the point of being savage, fearless bordering on the reckless, cunning like the fox. Unlike his Roman opponent, the Germanic war fighter was remarkably underequipped (plate 25). In large part this was due to the paucity of basic materials. “Even iron is by no means abundant with them”, Tacitus noted, “as we may gather from the character of their weapons”.³² About one in ten warriors had a single-edged knife (measuring 7–12 centimetres, 2.8–4.7 inches long).³³ Others carried a sword for cutting and thrusting; or a machete-like *sax* (measuring about 46 centimetres – 18.1 inches – long) for slashing and chopping.³⁴ Some might bear a double-edged sword similar to the Celtic long sword of the Raeti and Norici or Roman *spatha*. However, Germanic weapons were made of a form of iron called ‘steely iron’ which has a much lower content of carbon, typically 0.5 to 1.5 per cent of its weight, making it softer and more likely to bend when struck with force. To compensate for this weakness, Germanic swordsmiths made the *sax* with a thicker upper edge, but notwithstanding this measure, against the harder steel weapons used by the Romans, Germanic swordsmen were at a material disadvantage.

Axes were wielded by those with means, while others with fewer means used wooden clubs hewn from logs which had been fire-hardened or made more deadly with iron spikes.³⁵ Both weapons were used with devastating effect: even the rough edge of a club can cause considerable blunt trauma and crush bones.³⁶ They also used bows of fir and yew and arrows, slings and slingshot that were devastating when used *en masse*.³⁷ When the ammunition ran out, they threw rocks and stones.³⁸

Their preferred weapon was a slender but versatile spear.³⁹ “They carry lances”, wrote Tacitus, “*frameae* as they call them, with the iron point narrow and short, but so sharp and so easy to handle that they employ them either for stabbing or throwing on occasions”.⁴⁰ They also carried darts – *missilia* the Romans called them.⁴¹ Ranging from 90–275 centimetres (35.3–108.3 inches) in length with a tip 10–20 centimetres (3.9–7.9 inches) long, in an expert’s hand these were terrible weapons, especially to men wearing chain mail armour, the links of which the sharp, narrow point could pierce and rip apart. Each man carried several into battle and “they can hurl them to an immense distance”.⁴²

The regular Germanic fighter wore little or no body armour, unless stripped from an opponent or made by a local craftsman,

“and only a man or two here and there a helmet or head piece”.⁴³ Though there were likely national or clan differences in dress, he typically wore a short- or long-sleeved tunic, baggy or close-fitting long trousers belted at the waist, and a cloak fastened with a brooch.⁴⁴ German woollen cloth was somewhat rough to the touch but nevertheless dyed in solid colours, or woven with stripes or geometric patterns.⁴⁵ A shield was the primary mode of defence. Sculptures and coins show Germanic shields to be flat and long, and in shape oval, rectangular or hexagonal.⁴⁶ Tacitus comments that their shields were not supported by metal or leather but were simply wicker or painted boards, however, metal edging strips have been found in eastern Germany contesting his generalisation.⁴⁷ He also mentions the care with which they painted the coloured devices on the front of them.⁴⁸ Surviving first century BCE examples from Denmark, one measuring 88 centimetres (34.6 inches) by 60 centimetres (23.6 inches) and the other 66 centimetres (25.9 inches) by 30 centimetres (11.8 inches), are made of wooden planks.⁴⁹ In these specimens a central ‘barleycorn’ shaped shield boss protects the handgrip, but iron domed and pointed circular shield bosses have also survived.⁵⁰

Germanic warriors fought both on foot and horseback.⁵¹ Each was similarly equipped with spear or darts and shield.⁵² Lightly armed infantry made up the largest part of a Germanic tribal army but their cavalry, even in smaller numbers, were very effective. Germanic cavalry would often dismount and fight on foot and Caesar observed that they even trained their horses to remain standing in the same spot so they could leap up on to them and ride to another part of the battlefield or escape.⁵³ “Their horses are not remarkable”, writes Tacitus snootily,

for beauty or speed, neither are they trained to complex evolutions like ours; the riders charge straight forward, or wheel in a single turn to the right, the formation of the troop being such that there is no rear flank.⁵⁴

The right turn meant that the rider’s shield side was presented to their enemy so he could launch his weapon with his right side fully protected.

Young men able to run fast formed the vanguard of the attack as they were able to keep up with the cavalry charge. It was actually part of their ritual of attaining manhood. When deemed ready, a young man was formally presented with a lance and shield in the presence of his tribal assembly in what was regarded as the youth’s admission to the public life of his community.⁵⁵ In times of war, one hundred of the ablest young men were selected from their villages to accompany the cavalry

on foot.⁵⁶ Some, having proved their courage and skill, might then become retainers or bodyguards of the clan or war chief,

and there is an eager rivalry between the retainers for the post of honour next to their chief, as well as between different chiefs for the honour of having the most numerous and most valiant bodyguard. Here lie dignity and strength. To be perpetually surrounded by a large train of picked young warriors is a distinction in peace and a protection in war.⁵⁷

The relationship between the retainer and retained was complex, based on a code of honour, reward and recognition:

Upon the field of battle the chief is bound in honour not to let himself be surpassed in valour, and his retainers are equally bound to rival the valour of their chief. Furthermore, for one of the retainers to come back alive from the field where his chief had fallen is from that day forward an infamy and a reproach during all the rest of his life. To defend him, to guard him, nay, to give him the glory of their own feats of valour, is the perfection of their loyalty. The chiefs fight for victory; the bodyguard for their chief.⁵⁸

The Germanic nations were admired by Roman authors for their free spirit and democratic form of self-rule. Chiefs were elected by a tribal assembly to administer the law in their communities and each leader had a council of one hundred free men to consult for advice and to enforce his decisions.⁵⁹ For campaigns they elected a war leader. Caesar had observed “when a state either repels war waged against it or wages it against another, magistrates are chosen to preside over that war with such authority, that they have power of life and death”.⁶⁰ After the war, they relinquished that power. “They choose their kings for their noble birth”, observes Tacitus,

their generals for their prowess: the king’s power is neither unlimited nor arbitrary, and the generals owe their authority less to their military rank than to their example and the admiration they excite by it, if they are dashing, if they are conspicuous, if they charge ahead of the line.⁶¹

These were characteristics Drusus would have admired as they were the very same principles by which he led his own men.

Raiding was common practice among Germanic nations. In part this arose from the need to keep retainers fed and usefully employed as “forays and plunderings supply the means of keeping a free table”.⁶² Not for them tilling the land, but yet they could stand bloody wounds if it meant their status would rise on account of them.⁶³ Germanic tribes tried to avoid a pitched battle. ‘Hit-and-run’ was the preferred tactic in battle, using ambushes to strike their enemy when they were least expecting and prepared for an attack. Only as a last resort, did they meet in a set piece battle, and having first carefully picked

the ground, preferring wet or wooded or stony ground.⁶⁴ The Germanic army on the battlefield is often portrayed as a rabble, a *mêlée*, but this is inaccurate. They assembled in columns and took up wedge formations, familiar to the Romans as the *cuneus*, a tactic they themselves used.⁶⁵ Like the Romans, the men in the wedge formation interlocked or overlapped their shields to form a shield wall or 'shield castle'.⁶⁶ In 58 BCE, the Germanic king, Ariovistus, arrayed his men against Iulius Caesar by assembling the seven tribes under his command in columns of 300 men strong with spaces between them.⁶⁷ The Romans attacked from the front and sides, and the Germanic left flank – their unprotected side – collapsed, but on their right flank – the side protected by their shields – Ariovistus' men were able to deflect the Roman attack by pushing aggressively forward into Caesar's ranks.⁶⁸ They were only defeated when Roman reinforcements arrived.

Just as the warriors of Raetia, Vindelicia and Noricum did, Germanic warriors fired up their spirits by singing and chanting.⁶⁹ The Germanic war fighters sang to Hercules according to Tacitus (who may have equated him to Thor or Irmin, son of Wuotan), and

they raise a hymn in his praise, as the pattern of all valiant men, as they approach the field of battle. They have also a kind of song which they chant to fire their courage – they call it barding (*barritus*) – and from this chant they draw an augury of the issue of the coming day. For they inspire terror in the foe, or become flurried themselves according to the sound that goes up from the host. It is not so much any articulate expression of words as a war-like chorus. Their great aim is to produce a hoarse and tempestuous roar, every man holding his shield before his mouth to increase the volume and depth of tone by reverberation.⁷⁰

Adding to the raucous noise, the men clashed their weapons rhythmically against their shields.⁷¹ Some might combine the menace of their *barritus* with an aggressive war dance to antagonise and strike fear in their opponent.⁷²

The strength of the formation lay in its composition. Men formed up next to their kith and kin – son, brother and father stood next to each other, their lives on the line. Their wives and children would often go along and cheer their menfolk from behind. "Each man", writes Tacitus,

feels bound to play the hero before such witnesses and to earn their most coveted praise. To his mother and to his wife he brings his wounds; and they do not shrink from counting them, nor from searching for them, while they carry food to the fighters and give them encouragement.⁷³

If their husbands, fathers or brothers fell, their comrades and

womenfolk would be there to carry the body home proudly on his shield.

Retreats and feigned flights were accepted battlefield tactics.⁷⁴ Yet for a warrior to run and leave his shield behind was considered a shameful act and one that dishonoured him in the eyes of his entire community.⁷⁵ The humiliating punishment was disbarment from religious rites and denial of participation in the tribal assembly, and fearing this rejection “many such survivors from the battlefield have been known to end their shame by hanging themselves”.⁷⁶

War fighters gathered under clan flags like the *vexilla* of the Roman army.⁷⁷ Long horns or trumpets were played to relay basic commands.⁷⁸ These were prized spoils and, along with captured spears and shields, were assembled by the victor into war trophies. An enemy warrior captured alive in battle by a Germanic tribe might expect to face a duel with the champion of the captive-taker’s tribe. The outcome of the combat was taken as a forecast of how the war would end.⁷⁹

When the attack commenced, trumpets blasted, and a hail of spears, darts and rocks was unleashed upon the enemy.⁸⁰ Led from the front by their war chief, the wedge made up of interlocking shields would move forward in a menacing body of arms and men chanting their *barritus*. Some young men called *beserkers*, carrying shields and wielding spears or clubs, but otherwise naked and barefoot, might rush out screaming in a form of war madness and throw themselves upon the enemy.⁸¹ What lightly armed Germanic fighters lacked in equipment, they made up for in aggression, stealth and numbers, as Drusus and his invading army would now find out.

Ambush at Arbalo

Drusus’ expeditionary army continued to progress through Cheruscan territory. The Cherusci, meanwhile, had been tracking the Romans from a distance. They had the tactical advantage, knowing where to hide and when to launch surprise attacks. Using stealth, concealment and deception, the Cherusci constantly assaulted Drusus’ troops with surprise hit-and-run attacks, but they proved ineffectual as Roman discipline held. However, at a place called Arbalo the Cherusci finally unleashed a major ambush that tested Roman resolve.⁸² Dio describes the place simply as “a narrow pass”, which is not much to go on in trying to identify the site today.⁸³ Several attempts have been made and a consensus view has formed on the area around Hildesheim or Hameln.⁸⁴

Drusus' army was at its most vulnerable on the march. It would have been in a defensive formation for marching in hostile country, but that still meant it was strung out over many kilometers with its *impedimenta*, the long baggage train, slowing down the pace.⁸⁵ Once the bulk of Drusus' men had entered the narrow pass, the Cherusci sprung their attack. They blocked both the Romans' advance and their retreat. In this confined space Drusus and his army now found themselves trapped.⁸⁶ It was the kind of battle Drusus did not want to fight. The Cherusci rained down their missiles – *frameae*, darts and slingshot – upon the cramped, snaking Roman lines. In marching order there was not much space between the men for them to deploy their weapons. Under the hail of missiles whistling through the air and unable to quickly deploy in their battle formations they were 'sitting ducks' at the mercy of their opponents. Each legionary carried not only his heavy arms and shield, which on the march was protected by a goat-skin cover, but he was weighed down by his personal gear and tools hanging from a pole over the left shoulder, which combined was not only heavy but swung awkwardly as he marched, especially over uneven ground. Tribunes and centurions screamed out orders to the rankers to drop their shoulder packs, to form defensive lines and hold their heavy covered shields up high. The baggage train was either drawn back into the line or abandoned, but inevitably the animals panicked and their handlers struggled to restrain them.⁸⁷ Drusus' men resisted fiercely as they took the shock of the Germanic charge, wielding their *gladii* as they tried to cut their way through the blockade at the front while fending off the onslaught from the sides. Under their helmets, sweat trickled down from their brows, stinging their eyes. Hands gripped tightly the inside of the bosses of heavy shields, which suddenly felt lighter as adrenaline surged through the legionaries' veins. It was a terrible situation that Drusus and his men were now in. Germanic wooden clubs struck Roman iron armour. The cries of attackers met the groans of wounded men. The living tried to avoid treading on the bodies of the dead.

Despite their valiant efforts the legionaries and auxiliaries began to sag under the continuing assault in this unfavourable terrain, and to tire under the weight of their equipment and the physicality of their exertions. It may have been during this action that the two military tribunes, Chumstinctus and Aevectius, both young Nervii from Gallia Belgica, distinguished themselves with acts of gallantry – though precisely what they did which merited mention by Livy has been lost.⁸⁸

Then, inexplicably the German attack appeared to waver and some of the warriors even seemed to withdraw. Up to that point the Cherusci had had the upper hand during the struggle. In Dio's account they did not press home their advantage out of "a contempt for them, as if they were already captured and needed only the finishing stroke".⁸⁹ The Cheruscan leadership, perhaps among them Segimer himself, seemed to have decided that defeating an enemy in this manner was not honourable. The change of heart, however, also broke the resolve of the main body of Cheruscan warriors and those who continued the fight found themselves unsupported by their brothers now hesitating from a distance behind. It was an amazing stroke of good luck for the desperate Romans and exactly the chance Drusus needed. Urging his men on, Drusus broke through the Cheruscan blockade. Against the odds, the Romans escaped. The Cherusci had also lost their one opportunity to deliver a knockout blow – perhaps one that might have ended Roman ambitions for taking Germania. Cheruscan scorn or indecision perhaps more than superior Roman arms and tactics had saved the day for Drusus.

How could it have happened? It seems someone had not been paying adequate attention to the surroundings. Had the advance Roman scouts simply been duped or failed in their duty? Or had Drusus disregarded the intelligence in an example of overconfidence or overeagerness? The ancient sources do not say, and although Roman casualties are not known, yet clearly Drusus had come perilously close to losing his army altogether that day. Nevertheless Pliny the Elder characterised Arvalo as "a brilliant victory".⁹⁰ He ridiculed the men who had misinterpreted the swarm of bees. Arvalo was "a proof, indeed, that the conjectures of soothsayers are not by any means infallible, seeing that they are of opinion that this is always of evil augury".⁹¹

In the eyes of the common soldiery too 26-year old Drusus had brought them a great victory. He was a soldier's soldier. He maintained the love and goodwill of his men who now showed it by spontaneously acclaiming him with their right arms raised and loudly shouting the salutation '*imperator!*' – meaning simply 'commander'.⁹² It was in the gift of the soldiers to acclaim their commander on the field of battle in this manner in a tradition extending over hundreds of years.⁹³ The concept of *imperator* had originally been used in a religious context but became a military honour when Scipio Africanus was acclaimed by his soldiers for his victory in Hispania which he ascribed to a special relationship he had with the father of the gods, Jupiter.⁹⁴ The

use of the title was encouraged by Marius, Sulla, Caesar and Augustus.⁹⁵ Believing Drusus the commander would lead his battered army back to the safety of the winter camps on the Rhine, his soldiers cheered heartily; but Drusus was not content to simply abandon his hard won gains. To retain his stake and probably to signal that he intended to return the next year, Drusus decided to post garrisons inside Germanic territory. One fortified stronghold was erected provocatively in Cheruscan territory “at the point where the Lupia and the Eliso unite”.⁹⁶ The location of the site has been debated for over a 150 years. The Eliso may have been the Alme River, and where it intercepts the Lippe River today is modern day Paderborn, some 60 kilometres (37.2 miles) east of the Rhine. This tends to support a case for the fort being at Haltern laying 54 kilometres (33.5 miles) from the Rhine and located on the course of the Old Lippe River. The site has been extensively excavated and the first structure that can be identified was a marching camp roughly square in shape covering an area of 36 hectares, which is large enough for two legions.⁹⁷ A V-shaped ditch and turf rampart surrounded the camp, but no permanent structures have been identified suggesting it was a temporary structure and probably unsuitable for occupation in winter. Close to the riverbank, a triangular enclosure was erected around a steep hill-top which commands a view of the valley. Called the Annaberg Fort it was likely a stores compound.⁹⁸ It was built later than the marching camp and has been tentatively dated to Drusus’ campaign period.⁹⁹

The other prime contender for the site of Aliso is Bergkammen-Oberaden situated northeast of Dortmund, 70 kilometres (43.5 miles) east of Vetera. A Roman camp was identified here in 1905 and timber finds have been precisely dated using dendrochronology to the autumn of 11 BCE, which is therefore the earliest date work on the fortress began.¹⁰⁰ Roughly heptagonal in shape (map 8), at 57 hectares (840 metres by 680 metres; 2,755.9 feet by 2,230.9 feet) the fortress was large enough to accommodate up to three legions and auxiliaries.¹⁰¹ Its planners chose a hill-top for the base and constructed a formidable 2.7 kilometre (1.7 mile) long wooden curtain wall around it with a 3 metre (9.8 feet) wide rampart behind and towers spaced out at 25 metre (82.0 feet) intervals.¹⁰² In front of it, a 5 metre (16.4 feet) wide, 3 metre (9.8 feet) deep ditch was dug but on the northern side, the ditch was wider and narrower at 6.5 metres (21.3 feet) by 2.5 metres (8.2 feet), and staked with 300 sticks sharpened at both ends,

one of which has survived and is on display at the Westfälisches Römermuseum in Haltern am See.¹⁰³ An estimated 25,000 trees were felled to provide the timber for this massive encampment. The finds from the site suggest the fortress was built to be occupied all year round and its inhabitants seemingly suffered no discomforts during their stay.¹⁰⁴ The *principia*, which was the office of the legate and his administrative staff, was finished with painted plaster, pieces of which were uncovered during excavations with the imprint of the wicker wall panel still on the reverse side. Wells were dug within the enclosed area to provide fresh drinking water, one of which was found inside the courtyard of what may have been one of the tribune's residences. The well was notable for the wooden slats that lined it to a depth of 5 metres (16.4 feet) and the remains of a 1.26 metre (4.1 feet) long ladder found in it.¹⁰⁵ Latrines fed with water tanks have been identified within the ramparts and examinations of the organic matter reclaimed from them have revealed evidence of the inhabitants' diet.¹⁰⁶ Among the staples of wheat, lentils and millet were seeds from apples, raspberries, figs and olives, as well as hazelnuts, and astonishingly, peppercorns that had been imported from India.¹⁰⁷ Drusus' commissariat had thought of everything.

The second fort Drusus ordered was erected on territory belonging to the Chatti, the location of which has also been the subject of long debate, but none has yet been identified in Hessen and confidently dated to 11 BCE.¹⁰⁸ Wherever these two forts actually were, contingents of the Roman army now remained in Germania. It was the first time in recorded history that Roman troops spent a winter on the right bank of the Rhine.¹⁰⁹ For the men continuing on to the Rhine, the march remained dangerous and the ambushes and hit and run attacks did not let up. By now the Sugambri had withdrawn from their war against the Chatti and had returned to their homesteads. As the Romans entered and passed through their territory the Germans harried the unwelcome intruders. They too could have delivered a crippling blow, but did not. Exhausted by their inconclusive war with their neighbours, they still had to prepare for the winter ahead. Drusus' luck held up and his men finally reached the Rhine River and made it to the safety of their camps.

Drusus now returned to Lugdunum. There he would have met with his *princeps praetorii* and received a full briefing on the situation in the Tres Galliae. In particular Drusus would have been concerned with the results of the *census* and the mood of

the population following the measures taken the previous year to douse cold water on the smouldering embers of rebellion. That there is no further mention in the Roman historians of discontent among the Gallic nations during this time suggests their mood was one of acceptance, even if it was grudging. In one important respect, Drusus was now seen to be doing something definitive that would benefit all Gaul: he was dealing with the Germanic menace. The reports flowing back from across the Rhine of his military successes over the Germanic tribes would have helped boost confidence among the Gallic people that security in the homelands would improve. The fact that Romans were actually encamped in Germania during the winter of 11/10 BCE provided tangible evidence of progress in the war.

The return to Lugdunum also provided Drusus with a long overdue opportunity to be with his family again. He was still very much in love with Antonia. Drusus' sexual fidelity to his wife was highlighted by Valerius Maximus in his *Memorable Sayings and Doings* as an example of abstinence (*abstinentia*) and continence (*continentia*).¹¹⁰ His eldest son was now four years old while his daughter was two. But it was a short stay. With winter setting in, and travel becoming more difficult as the weather deteriorated, they could not stay long in the Gallic capital. In November just before his departure from Lugdunum and his arrival in Rome, or somewhere in between, their next child was conceived.

On arriving in Rome, Drusus faced a full agenda. Augustus required a complete update on the second year of the war in Germania. With Agrippa dead Augustus now relied completely on Drusus and his brother to execute his military operations. While he was generally pleased with progress, however, he did not allow Drusus to accept the title of *imperator* that the men of the legions had bestowed upon him on the battlefield.¹¹¹ As the acclaimed commander was entitled to add the honour after his name, perhaps Augustus felt this form of recognition was too high a profile for the young man so early in his career; or he may have preferred that *he* be the one to decide the moment when to grant use of the title.¹¹² Neither was it the first time a commander had been blocked from accepting the title: in 29 BCE Crassus, proconsul of Macedonia, was granted a triumph, but Augustus alone took the salutation as *imperator*.¹¹³ In a repeat of this episode, Augustus took this latest acclamation again for himself to bolster his own military prestige and, just as eighteen years before, Augustus granted Drusus instead an *ovatio*, a lower

grade of triumph in which he was permitted to ride on horseback through the city of Rome.¹¹⁴ This was tantamount to saying to Drusus that he still had work to do to earn a full triumph, but the *ovatio* would in the meantime give him deserved public recognition. If and when the ovation took place is not recorded. Nevertheless, Nero Claudius Drusus' currency was rising.

Meanwhile, Tiberius had successfully subdued the rebellions in Illyricum and Pannonia.¹¹⁵ With peace breaking out across the world, it seemed an appropriate time to shut the doors of the Temple of Ianus Geminus, an act only carried out when Roman arms were laid to rest.¹¹⁶ The last year it had happened, and that for only the third time in Roman history in fact, was after Actium when Augustus invoked the ancient ceremony on 11 January 29 BCE.¹¹⁷ The senate willingly voted and approved the motion. However, it was not to be. The *pax Romana* was not so easily won. The Dacians invaded Pannonia and the Illyrians rose up again in protest against the tribute imposed on them.¹¹⁸ Yet again, Augustus looked to Tiberius to fix the problem and he would spend the following year quelling them.¹¹⁹

While in Rome, Drusus' mother-in-law unexpectedly died. Octavia was 60, a respectably old age by Roman standards.¹²⁰ Her body was laid in state with a curtain over her corpse at the Temple of Iulius in the Forum Romanum.¹²¹ Drusus gave the funeral oration from the *rostrum* just in front of the senate house on behalf of the family.¹²² He and his brother were pallbearers during the public funeral. Significantly Augustus did not agree to allow all the honours the senate voted her. Refusing honours as much as accepting them was one of the ways Augustus carefully managed the public image and reputation of his family in the eyes of the senate and Roman people.¹²³

For reasons good and bad, it had been a landmark year. Yet Drusus' mind was on matters far from Rome. Perhaps inspired by the consuls of old or the lure of military glory, Drusus was intent on leaving the city at the earliest opportunity to continue the war.

The Main Offensive

He returned to Lugdunum in the spring of 10 BCE. The Tres Galliae continued to function as expected and there were no reports of unrest. His legates, meantime, had wasted no time in Germania. The Lippe River was now being lined with forts and logistics depots to relay supplies along the river delivered from Vetera (plate 26). Work on Oberaden continued. A new supply

depot to support the fortress was established a few kilometers downstream at Beckinghausen. Discovered in 1911 on a steep slope falling towards the river, it was subsequently excavated and an oval shaped encampment was uncovered measuring 185 meters (606.9 feet) by 88 metres (288.7 feet), encompassing an area of approximately 1.56 hectares, although the landing place for loading and unloading rivercraft has yet to be found.¹²⁴ The main campaign this year would not, however, be driven along the Lippe River. Drusus now shifted the tactical thrust into Germania from a base further up the Rhine (map 9). A few weeks later he arrived with his entourage in Mogontiacum eager to launch an offensive to the Elbe via the River Main (Moenus or Menus). There were two legions at the camp, XIV *Gemina* and XVI *Gallica*. They may have been joined by vexillations of other legions from Fectio, Oppidum Ubiorum, Novaesium and Vetera. Detachments of these already made up at least two garrisons inside Germania. They would have been under orders to engage in simultaneous operations to drive deeper thrusts of their own into the territories building on the previous two campaign seasons; and to consolidate their gains with the construction of new forts, watch towers and roads. A skeleton crew would also have to be left at Mogontiacum (and the other Rhine fortresses) to guard it and manage the supply chain of provisions going to the front. Thus in practice the force for the new invasion along the Main River might have numbered as few as 10,000 men plus cohorts of auxiliaries.

A new fort may have been established at Frankfurt-am-Main-Höchst at the confluence of the Nidda and Main Rivers.¹²⁵ As in the previous campaigns, Drusus used rivers to ferry much of the supplies his invading force needed by boat. The Main River is 524 kilometres (325.6 miles) long and a major tributary of the Rhine, with its source near Kulmbach, which is in turn fed by two minor tributaries the Red Main and White Main. The invasion plan was conceived with the usual Roman attention to detail, and logistics in particular. A supply depot was established at Rödgen near Bad Nauheim on the east bank of the Wetter River close by its source, about 60 kilometres (37.3 miles) east of the Rhine.¹²⁶ It was polygonal in shape with a double ditch, 3 metres (9.8 feet) deep and wood-and-earth rampart structure 3 metres (9.8 feet) high and 3 metres (9.8 feet) wide at the base, enclosing an area of 3.3 hectares.¹²⁷ Archaeologists found that the gateway, flanked by substantial towers, was wide enough for two wagons to pass through.¹²⁸ These would have delivered corn and fresh produce brought up from Mogontiacum for storage in

the warehouses and granaries inside the compound. There was also a well-equipped workshop. In the centre of the fortified camp was a *principia*, *praetorium* and barrack blocks sufficient for about 1,000 men but the size of the storage capacity meant it would feed many more mouths than its garrison.¹²⁹ The nearby fort at Friedburg may have been connected with it.¹³⁰

The invasion route took them headlong into conflict with the Chatti who were a strong opponent.¹³¹ Unlike the previous campaign season, they had finally formed an alliance with the Sugambri and combined forces, having abandoned their own country, which the Romans had apparently given them.¹³² The Chatti were tough fighters and the ensuing conflict with the Romans was bloody and brutal. On the far northeastern edge of Chatti territory the Roman army established a major summer camp at Hedemünden near modern Göttingen, some 240 kilometres (149.1 miles) northwest of Mogontiacum. Military surveyors laid out a narrow oval fortress taking full advantage of the Burgberg, a hill overlooking a bend on the Werra River, which is a tributary of the Weser. The defensive enclosure measured 320 metres (1,049.9 feet) long by 150 metres (492.1 feet) wide encompassing an area of 3.215 hectares.¹³³ The 760 metre (2,493.4 feet) long circuit of wall measuring 5–6 metres (16.4–19.7 feet) at the base with a ditch outside was pierced by one gateway on each of the west and south sides, two on the east side with a curved but ungated northern end on the crest of the hill. There was an adjoining annex, also surrounded by a protective wall and ditch, which swept down to the riverside and may have been used for animals and supplies. The site, which has been partly excavated, has already produced over 1,500 iron objects carried by Roman troops, including exceptionally well preserved *dolabra* and *pugiones*, flat bladed spear points, the bent metal shank of a *pilum*, pyramid-shaped catapult bolts, nails, chain, hooks and even tent pegs with rings for tying the leather straps to.¹³⁴ More personal items were also found such as iron hobnails – 600 in all – from *caligae* and a bronze phallic good luck charm. That the Romans were in the area on active campaign and taking prisoners is attested by an exquisitely nasty set of iron fetters. Shaped like the letter P the loop fitted around the neck and the hands were locked in two cuffs attached to the shaft. The short length of the shaft meant the captive wearer had to keep his arms up high across his chest – where they could be clearly seen by the guards – to avoid discomfort to the neck.

Anticipating his people might suffer a similar fate, one tribal

leader took proactive steps to avoid conflict with the invaders. That year an enterprising noble from the Marcomanni nation named Marbodius or Marabodus, who was educated at Rome and once enjoyed Augustus' patronage, returned to his people – or perhaps was taken there under Roman escort – and became their leader.¹³⁵ He took back with him ideas about how the Marcomanni might introduce Roman-style law, government and military science.¹³⁶ He had come to know the Romans well and understood what motivated them. Rather than challenge Rome or be subjugated by her, Marbodius decided upon a radical strategy. In a remarkable move, he convinced his tribe to relocate far from Roman temptation. Joining his people on the migration to a new homeland in Bohemia (Bohaemium) were the Lugii, Zumi, Butones (or Gutones), Mugilones and Sibini nations, a combined force of some 70,000 men on foot and 4,000 horse.¹³⁷

For those standing in Drusus' path, the choice was ally with him or be prepared to fight. While the invading Roman army continued to attack and defeat any opposition as it progressed through the country, Drusus engaged in dazzling displays of single combat.

Spoils of War

Waging war was a central defining characteristic of Roman culture. There was prestige and profit to be had in a successful campaign and to advance in politics meant showing courage and ability on the battlefield. Fifty-three years earlier Cicero had exhorted

preëminence in military skill excels all other virtues. It is this which has procured its name for the glory of the Roman people; it is this which has procured eternal glory for this city; it is this which has compelled the whole world to submit to our dominion; all domestic affairs, all these illustrious pursuits of ours, and our forensic renown, and our industry, are safe under the protection of military valour. The highest dignity is in those men who excel in military glory.¹³⁸

One way a commander could prove his worth was to engage his opponent in face-to-face combat, defeat him and strip his body bare of its arms, armour and personal effects. These rich spoils were called the *spolia opima*. They were then hung decoratively from an oak tree trunk as a trophy (*tropaea*) and the victor brought the display back to Rome and presented it as victor to the shrine of Jupiter Feretrius on the Capitoline Hill.¹³⁹ Their exalted place in the Roman psyche was due to their extreme rarity. Legend had it that the first spoils were taken by Romulus from Acro, king of the Caeninenses in 752 BCE following the

incident in which the Sabine women were raped.¹⁴⁰ The second *spolia* were those of Lars Tolumnius, king of the Veientes, taken by A. Cornelius Crossus.¹⁴¹ The decaying linen cuirass and accompanying inscription were still in existence in Augustus' time and they actually came to light during the renovation of the temple of Iupiter Feretrius at the request of the *princeps*.¹⁴²

The last recorded Roman commander to be recognised for wrenching the spoils from his fallen adversary was M. Claudius Marcellus (c.268–208 BCE). He was a distant relative of Drusus and as a child he would have heard the thrilling story, which is preserved by Plutarch, of how he captured them in 222 BCE.¹⁴³ Day and night, the story went, Marcellus pursued the Gaesatae, a Gallic tribe, which had invaded the Lombardy region of northern Italy to assist their allies, the Insubres. He finally intercepted 10,000 of them at Clastidium. Unfortunately, Marcellus had with him just 600 lightly armed troops, as well as a contingent of heavy infantry and some cavalry. Viridomarus, king of the Insubres, thinking that his side had the advantage of greater numbers and proven skill in horsemanship, set out to squash the Roman invader without delay. The Gauls were now heading *en masse* at speed towards Marcellus' forces. Fearing he would be overwhelmed, the consul deployed his men into longer, thinner lines with the cavalry placed at the wings. His own horse, however, was terrified by the ululations of the advancing Gauls and turned tail, carrying Marcellus back in the direction of the Roman lines. This did not look at all good in front of his own men, so thinking quickly on his feet, he made as if he was praying to the gods and promised to Iupiter Feretrius the choicest of the Gallic king's weapons and armour. Meanwhile, Viridomarus standing in his war chariot and wearing his striped trousers had spotted Marcellus by the splendour of his kit and charged out to slay him. Seeing the gleaming silver and gold of the Gaul's armour and the elaborate coloured fabrics of his tunic and cloak, and recalling his vow to the Roman god, Marcellus now charged at Viridomarus.¹⁴⁴ The adversaries raced closer and closer together. Marcellus saw an opportunity but he had to act quickly. With all his might, he hurled his spear. The slender iron tipped weapon sliced through the sky and found its prey. The blade pierced the Gallic king's cuirass and the force of the impact thrust him off his chariot and crashing to the ground. Marcellus charged up on his steed and dismounted. With two or three stabs, Marcellus dispatched the man.¹⁴⁵ He hacked off the dead man's head, removed the torc from his severed neck in the manner of the Celts, and stripped the dead man of his splendid

gear.¹⁴⁶ Lifting them skywards Marcellus proclaimed,

“O Jupiter Feretrius, who observest the deeds of great warriors and generals in battle, I now call thee to witness, that I am the third Roman consul and general who have, with my own hands slain a general and a king! To thee I consecrate the most excellent spoils. Do thou grant us equal success in the prosecution of this war”.¹⁴⁷

The Roman cavalry then charged the Gallic horse and infantry and won a great victory, made all the more so on account of the small number of Marcellus’ force and the greater odds it faced.¹⁴⁸ The Gaesatae withdrew and surrendered Mediolanum (Milan) and other cities under their control and sued for terms.¹⁴⁹ The senate awarded Marcellus a triumph in which the spoils were prominently displayed to cheers from the spectators.¹⁵⁰ The sight of Marcellus carrying the trophy adorned with Viridomarus’ spectacular armour to the temple of Jupiter Feretrius was “the most agreeable and most uncommon spectacle”, writes Plutarch.¹⁵¹ Some 175 years later a descendant of Marcellus who was a *tresvir monetalis* used his position to commemorate the event on a special *denarius* (plate 27).¹⁵²

There was another ancestor on Drusus’ mother’s side whose story probably inspired the young commander to uncommon acts of bravery on the battlefield. That was the story of how his family acquired its *cognomen* Drusus. One of his ancestors had dueled a Gallic chieftain named Drausus and by killing him “procured for himself and his posterity” the name.¹⁵³

These tales of heroism and glorious deeds evidently left a deep impression on the young Claudian. The German War provided Drusus with numerous opportunities to win his own rich spoils. Suetonius remarks that he was eager for glory and “frequently marked out the German chiefs in the midst of their army, and encountered them in single combat, at the utmost hazard of his life”.¹⁵⁴ Drusus may have been successful in his quest, “for besides his victories”, writes the biographer of the Caesars, “he gained from the enemy the *spolia opima*”.¹⁵⁵ If indeed Drusus was successful – when and against which opponent is not recorded in the surviving accounts – this was an extraordinary honour. The last person to claim the honour was M. Licinius Crassus (the grandson of the *triumvir*) who had defeated an opponent in Macedonia in 29 BCE. His achievement was downplayed, however. Politics got in the way of him collecting his trophy. The honour was deemed too distracting to Octavianus’ efforts to consolidate his political power. Crassus was denied his eternal glory and fobbed off with a triumph. By

the time Drusus had taken the rich spoils from his Germanic enemy Augustus' power base was more solid and he could afford to allow his young stepson the public recognition.¹⁵⁶ Indeed, it would have been first rate propaganda for here was a member of his own household who had achieved what only three other illustrious men had in the entire course of Roman history.

Family Matters

While Drusus was fighting in Germania, his brother was into the second year of a bitter campaign in Illyricum and Pannonia.¹⁵⁷ It was not a war of conquest, for that had already been undertaken several years before, but the less glamorous burden of suppressing a rebellion. In 10 BCE Tiberius had yet to celebrate his first official triumph.¹⁵⁸ Was Tiberius jealous of his younger brother's high profile successes across the Rhine? Was Tiberius suspicious that his brother had become Augustus' favourite? There is certainly a suggestion in the Latin literature of sibling rivalry and deeper resentments. Suetonius uses the word *odium*, 'hatred', to describe Tiberius' feelings towards his younger brother at an undisclosed time in their relationship. As the only evidence for it he cites that Drusus had written a letter (*epistula*) to his elder brother in which he proposed they strongly urge Augustus to resign and for him to restore the institutions of the *res publica*.¹⁵⁹ Tiberius "produced the letter", presumably handing it over to Augustus himself. The consequences of this alleged action are not recorded, but Drusus' preference for the old form of government was apparently well known, so it is hard to see how this could be damaging to him – unless it was *this* letter that revealed his true feelings and it was the first time Augustus learned of them.¹⁶⁰ The letter does, however, strongly suggest that Drusus would have been opposed to a hereditary succession – including his own.

It was now summer and Drusus had to leave the campaign in the capable hands of his legates. There was a matter of provincial importance that required his return to Lugdunum.¹⁶¹ On 1 August the *concilium Galliarum* was to gather at the *pagus* Condate for the official opening of the sanctuary. The date chosen for the inauguration was significant on several counts. For the Gallic nations on this day they celebrated the start of the *Lughnasa*, the festival of Lug, the god of war and craft who had come to be associated with the Roman Mercurius.¹⁶² For the Romans, 1 August was the "natal day" of the temples of Victoria and Victoria Virgo on the Palatine Hill and on this day, Augustus had taken Alexandria from Kleopatra in 30 BCE and Drusus had

taken the *oppidum* of the Genauni fifteen years later.¹⁶³

The sanctuary complex commissioned by Drusus was a spectacular expression in stone, marble and gilt bronze of the burgeoning ‘theology of victory’ that legitimized Augustus’ vision for an expansionistic Roman commonwealth and of the place of Tres Galliae in it. The creation of a cult centre shared between three provinces was unprecedented anywhere in the Empire but relates back to the reorganization of the Tres Galliae under Augustus between 16–13 BCE and the need to create a common bond between its diverse *civitates*.¹⁶⁴ It was appropriately grand (map 10). Visitors to the complex crossed from Lugdunum via a bridge over the Saône River. They first saw the amphitheatre (fig. 4), which dominated their field of view. An elaborate wooden one- or two-storey superstructure supported rows of seats for some 1,800 spectators who sat around an oval-shaped sand-covered arena measuring 67.6 metres (221.8 feet) by 42 metres (137.8 feet).¹⁶⁵

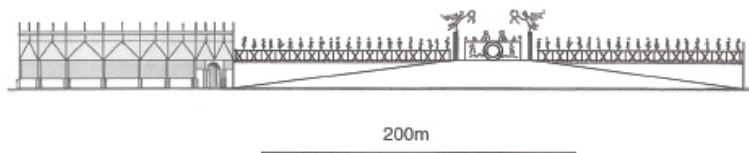


Figure 4: Reconstruction of the front elevation of the federal sanctuary at Colonia Copia Felix Munatia Lugdunum and the Altar of *Roma et Augustus*.
(Drawn by the author)

A wide roadway then took the visitor past the curved southern end of the amphitheatre, a walk of about 100 metres (328.1 feet), and revealed a breathtaking new vista. The architects and engineers had cunningly used the topography of the granite cliff of La Croix-Rousse towering 254 metres (833.3 feet) above Condate, removing part of a lower ledge and levelling it to create a huge raised runway-like platform. The frontage road swung out to the right and up the incline of a long ramp, and continued down on the other side, over a total distance of 1,000 Roman feet.¹⁶⁶ The apex of the double ramp was flattened into a platform upon which stood the altar to Rome and Augustus (*Roma et Augustus*). We have a good idea of the appearance of the imperial cult altar because the mint at Lugdunum produced from that time on great quantities of bronze coins that show it (plate 28).¹⁶⁷ The front south-facing frieze of the altar was decorated with the *corona civica* – the military decoration of an oak wreath awarded to citizens who had saved the life of another recognising the one given to Augustus for ending the civil wars – flanked by laurels.¹⁶⁸ On each of the opposite east and west sides of the altar were likely hung copies of the *clupeus virtutis*, the gleaming golden shields inscribed with Augustus' virtues of courage, clemency, justice and piety. The coins show just two columns flanking the altar. These may have been integral parts of the altar but an alternative hypothesis is that the columns were freestanding and positioned in front, or on each side of the altar.¹⁶⁹ One theory suggests there were actually four columns arranged at the corners of the square platform, in which case the second row of columns in the stylized image on the coins is obscured by the front row.¹⁷⁰ Each column, with its base and capital, is estimated to have risen to a height of 10.5 metres (34.4 feet).¹⁷¹ Surmounting each column capital was a winged Victory. A delicate statuette of a winged Victory measuring just 28 centimetres (11.0 inches) was retrieved from the Saône in 1866 and it offers a good impression of the high level of craftsmanship invested in the statues surmounting the columns of the sanctuary.¹⁷² Balancing on one foot balletically and turned to face the other, each Victory clutched a circular wreath over the altar. Remarkably a fragment of one of the gilded bronze laurels held by a Victory statue was found in 1961 at the corner of Rue des Fantasques and Rue Grogard.¹⁷³ The diameter of the laurel is 46 centimetres (18.1 inches) and from this it has been estimated that each statue stood to a height of 3.5 metres (11.5 feet) – nearly twice the life size of a typical Roman – making it

clear they were intended to be seen from a distance and to impress. Covered in gold leaf, in the sunlight these statues would have sparkled against the backdrop of the drab stone of the adjacent cliff face.

The upper level platform accessed by the ramps measured 235 metres (770.1 feet) long by 69 metres (226.4 feet) wide.¹⁷⁴ Running along the length of the front edge of the raised platform was a drain, part of which was uncovered in 1827 when enhancements were made to the Church of St Polycarpe. It measures 1.57 metres (5.2 feet) wide by 2.13 metres (7.0 feet) high and is believed to be part of the pedestal of the altar.¹⁷⁵ The rear of the platform was lined with a terrace upon which statues stood along its entire length. On the Roman coins that show the altar, there are also indistinct blobs just above the line of the altar. The only written reference – by Strabo – states that the names of all sixty nations of the *Tres Galliae* were inscribed on the terrace and nearby were sixty corresponding statues.¹⁷⁶ All of Gaul was represented here. In the spirit of a public event, in front of the complex was a large open space from which the local population and visitors from afar could watch the proceedings.

Key to the future success of the *concilium Galliarum* concept was the priestly college formed to organise the annual festival. With only a limited number of positions open annually, there was intense competition for them and great prestige awaited those few who were selected. The first of the line of *sacerdotes Augusti* was elected from among the Aedui nation from the vicinity of Lugdunum. His name was G. Iulius Vercondaridubnus and his *cognomen* suggests that he, or his father, had been granted Roman citizenship either under Caesar or Augustus.¹⁷⁷ Nothing is known of the ceremony that took place that day under his direction, but it almost certainly included all the ceremonial elements of a public sacrifice, with prayers and incantations. The officials likely gathered at the foot of the sanctuary and then made their way in procession (*pompa*) up the east ramp.¹⁷⁸ The representatives of the *concilium* then assembled on the platform behind the altar to witness the rite and, once completed, then walked in procession down the west ramp to the amphitheatre to take their seats in the coveted first few rows. On that inauguration day, the ritual was probably led by Iulius Vercondaridubnus himself and accompanied by his guests of honour.¹⁷⁹ These included Augustus, Tiberius and Drusus, and probably their wives too. While Drusus was campaigning in Germania, Augustus and Tiberius had returned

to Lugdunum.¹⁸⁰ The presence of the *princeps* and the former governor indicates just how important an occasion they considered the inauguration ceremony to be. Augustus also maintained a deep interest in the German War and wanted to be closer to the front to receive news of progress.¹⁸¹ Hardly had he arrived, when Tiberius' visit was interrupted by news of a rebellion in Pannonia caused by complaints over payment of tribute and he immediately left to deal with it.¹⁸² After successfully restoring order to the troubled province, he returned again to the preëminent Gallic city where he joined Augustus and Drusus, fresh in from Germania, for the opening ceremony. As Providence would have it, on 1 August Antonia gave birth to another child (Stemma Drusorum no.15). Drusus named him after his brother, Ti. Claudius Nero.¹⁸³ The happy family event must have greatly added to the excitement and joy of this memorable occasion.

With the celebrations concluded, Drusus decided not to return to the front but went instead with his stepfather and brother directly to Rome.¹⁸⁴ For the remainder of the season, Drusus' legates would conduct operations on their own initiative.

Chapter 6

Drusus the Consul

9 BCE

The Year of Consul Drusus

On his return to Rome, as *Propraetor* and a senator, Drusus would have debriefed the conscript fathers on the course of the war in Germania. He had a good story to share with them. He had maintained their strong support throughout the war and in recognition of his achievements to date he was elected consul for the following year. On 1 January 9 BCE, Drusus was duly sworn in.¹ Fifty-three years earlier when M. Tullius Cicero had been elected to the highest position in the Roman Republic, *consules* were elected to carry out three responsibilities: to command Rome's armies, to preside over meetings of the Senate, and to see that its decisions were implemented.² In those days by law a two-year interval was required following the candidate's praetorship and him standing for the consulship.³ Under the reforms of 27 BCE the ancient *comitia centuriata*, which had elected the consuls for hundreds of years, lost their powers and the senate chose two men from among its ranks themselves – no doubt, with strong guidance from Augustus.⁴ Thereafter, the consulship became largely honorary.⁵ The tradition of naming the year after the two *consules*, however, endured. In the Roman calendar 9 BCE would forever be known as 'the year of Nero Claudius Drusus and T. Quinctius Crispinus'.⁶ His co-consul was a descendant of the same name who had served in the highest office of state with one of Drusus' own ancestors – none other than M. Claudius Marcellus – while campaigning against Hannibal Barca during the Second Punic War. When out on a reconnaissance mission to locate Hannibal, the two men found themselves surrounded by their opponent's troops in an ambush. Marcellus was killed during the encounter, but Crispinus managed to escape with his life.⁷ Hardly anything is known about Drusus' partner save that he would become famous for the *lex Quinctia* passed on 30 June of that year which made it an offence punishable by a fine up to 100,000 *sestertii* plus the costs

of repairs for wantonly damaging or breaking into the public aqueducts to divert water without permission.⁸

On 30 January – Livia's birthday – Drusus took part in the consecration of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, an altar erected to honour the personification of the *pax Augusta*, the peace made possible by Augustus.⁹ It was commissioned by the Senate on 4 July 13 BCE and had taken three and a half years to design and build.¹⁰ It was located outside the *pomerium* of the city in the Campus Martius west of the *via Flaminia* on the floodplain of the Tibur River. Fragments of the altar were discovered in the silt in 1568 and reassembled under Benito Mussolini in 1938.¹¹ Carved of gleaming white marble, it measures 11.6 metres (38.1 feet) by 10.6 metres (34.8 feet) the altar is considered to be an architectural masterpiece of the Augustan age.¹² The altar proper stands on a raised podium within an enclosure in the style of a *templum*. An opening measuring 3.6 metres (11.8 feet) wide, with ten steps on the west side, allows access to the altar.¹³ On the outside wall of the enclosure, above a lower panel decorated with volutes of acanthus, is the depiction of a procession. Here are assembled the good and great of Rome: the Vestal Virgins, the *Pontifex Maximus*, members of the priestly colleges and their religious attendants, the consuls and state officials accompanied by *lictors*. They are followed by men, women and children who were friends and family of Augustus. One interpretation of the event depicted in the frieze is that it represents the *suovetaurilia* Augustus ordered to be offered annually at the site on the anniversary of the day the senate had commissioned the altar marking his return (*reditus*) from his extended stay in the Tres Galliae and Hispaniae in 13 BCE.¹⁴ However, an equally plausible explanation is that the frieze shows the actual consecration ceremony (*dedication*) for the altar in 9 BCE.

The procession on both sides of the external north and south walls flanking the entrance forms a single line seen from opposite sides, as the participants move towards the steps at the front of the altar. The figures are lifesize and appear to be the individual likenesses of the participants. Augustus is shown as *Pontifex Maximus* among the group at the front of the line. Further down stands M. Vipsanius Agrippa clutching a scroll in his right hand. His head is covered respectfully with his *toga*, perhaps recognising the fact of his death, which occurred during the carving of the frieze. Behind him is Livia Drusilla and her hand rests upon the head of a young girl.¹⁵ Following her is the figure of Tiberius looking serious and wearing a *toga* and ankle-

length closed boots of a high status Roman. Behind him, a woman pauses to listen to a man who is talking to her (plate 31). He is slightly taller than the woman. The man is seen in profile and is not dressed like the other men in the procession. He wears the *paludamentum*, the military cloak over his left shoulder, and *caligae*, the sturdy boots worn by soldiers upon his feet. This is surely Nero Claudius Drusus, the commander of the Rhine army? Drusus appears to be speaking, while a boy clutches the edge of his cloak and chats with another older boy by his side. As he talks Antonia listens while holding the hand of a very young, well-behaved boy – presumably her oldest son, Nero – who wears child size national Roman costume.¹⁶ It is a surprisingly intimate moment for such a public monument, a snapshot in a virtual photo album of members of the imperial family in peaceful celebration of a religious rite on the First Lady's birthday, preserved for the ages in marble.

The year did not begin well, however. Strange events in the city presaged very bad things to come. Probably drawing on the accounts of chroniclers, Dio meticulously records that several buildings in Rome were damaged or even destroyed during a ferocious storm, including the temples of Jupiter and his companion gods on the Capitoline.¹⁷ Drusus was counselled by the soothsayers to beware of these supernatural warnings but he “paid no heed to any of these things”.¹⁸ He had been mindful of ill omens before, but he was intent on completing his mission and this time nothing would stop him. Drusus was a young man in a hurry. Perhaps we now see evidence of that headstrong stubbornness which was a characteristic trait of the Claudians and which often landed men of the clan in trouble.¹⁹

As soon as he could he departed for Lugdunum. There was much to discuss with members of his *officium*. Having dealt with business there, he then set off for the Rhine. *En route* he stopped at Andemantunnum in Gallia Belgica where he dedicated a temple to Caesar Augustus.²⁰ The event demonstrates how Drusus was increasingly playing a prominent role as a promoter of the imperial cult, binding the civilian and military communities of the three Gallic provinces closer together – and to the stepfather of their military governor.

Some time in the first months of 9 BCE he arrived with his escort, including his full complement of twelve hand picked lictors, at Mogontiacum. Over the next few weeks he studied the plans for the coming campaign season and reviewed intelligence reports from his deputies stationed at the camps along the Rhine and Lippe Rivers. The region was, by all extant accounts, calm.

“At length such peace was made throughout Germania that the inhabitants seemed changed, the ground different from what it was, and the air milder and softer than it was wont to be,” wrote Florus with poetic hyperbole.²¹ Finally, on a fresh spring morning, consul Drusus marched out from Mogontiacum with his legions – perhaps just the XIII and XVI as the others were committed on the Lippe River – determined to reach the Elbe that year (map 11). In Dio’s account there is a sense of Drusus’ growing impatience and frustration with progress. There was an urgency to his campaigning this year. Perhaps the weighty responsibility or prestige of the consulship spurred him to strive further and demonstrate to the *princeps* that he was worthy? Drusus force-marched his men single-mindedly to achieve his long-standing mission. Picking up supplies at the depot at Rödgen, they drove deeper into Germania, slashing and burning as they went.²² The Chatti were attacked again and after a series of brutal and bloody engagements, Drusus’ forces beat them back.²³ Nevertheless the Chatti successfully resisted all Roman attempts to completely subjugate them.

They were now entering uncharted territory in lands shrouded in myth and legend. It was an achievement commentators at home later reported on with awe. “He opened a way through the *Hercynius saltus*”, writes Florus, “which, till that time, had been unpenetrated and unattempted”.²⁴ The Hercynian Forest was made notorious by Iulius Caesar.²⁵ It was widely believed to be an immense and impenetrable trackless wood and swamp.²⁶ Caesar had written that there was no one in Germania he was personally acquainted with in his day who had seen the northern most edge of the forest, despite having travelled for sixty days.²⁷ Botanical surveys have confirmed that the region at this time was heavily forested and thick with beech, fir and spruce.²⁸ *Hercynius saltus* extended along the Danube as far as the foothills of the western Alps and included the modern Black Forest on its western side, and reached as far eastwards as Dacia and Pannonia. It divided the civilised world from *barbaricum*, that strange and mysterious region where its peoples did not speak Latin or Greek. It was as bleak and forbidding a place as the vivid Roman imagination could conjure up, complete with strange beasts such as the ox shaped like a stag; the single-horned reindeer, the elk – up to Caesar’s time unknown to the Romans – without legjoints which leaned against the forest’s gigantic oak trees in order to sleep; and a bird with plumage that glowed like fire in the night.²⁹ It was as though Drusus had taken his men to the moon. Fascinating as

these discoveries were, they were not there on a scientific mission this time, however, but on one of resolute conquest.

The army marched on as far as the territory of the much-feared Suebi, but it seems Drusus decided against picking a fight with them. Instead, he turned north and crossed the Weser River into the country of the Marsi and Cherusci, by now familiar adversaries.³⁰ Then he struck out in a northeasterly direction and after a long march through central Germania finally reached the left bank of the Elbe River (plate 30).³¹ What must he have felt as he stood on the bank of the river, reflecting on the significance of the achievement? The sources do not say, but one suspects an admixture of elation, relief and frustration. By courier news of Drusus' arrival at the Albis reached Rome where it was greeted with great excitement. Not since Drusus' fleet had attempted to sail the northern ocean had there been such wonderment. In recognition of it, a *pompa triumphalis* was granted to Drusus to be held on his return to the city and, unusually, it was also agreed that a public holiday (*feriae*) that had already been marked would be repeated so that Drusus' procession could be held on that auspicious day amid jubilant celebration and feasting.³²

Drusus's subjugation of the *Germani* now became the topical subject of dinner party conversations of wealthy Romans and silversmiths were only too pleased to satisfy the demand for suitable tableware. One of the so-called Boscoreale Cups is believed to depict Drusus in commander's uniform with his *paludamentum* draped over his left arm standing beside bowing 'barbarians' (plate 42). He is shown in the rôle of sponsor presenting a group of cheerful Germanic children to the *princeps*, who is dressed as a magistrate and seated upon a curule chair and surrounded by his *lictors*, and into whose care they will be taken to Rome to be raised and permitted to return home when adults.³³

Meanwhile, back in Rome it was business as usual. A no-expenses spared festival was held in Drusus' name *in absentia* according to the obligations of his senior office; and Augustus' birthday was celebrated with lavish games in the Circus Maximus and elsewhere in the city in which the star attractions were wild beasts imported from far and wide at great cost, and slaughtered in staged hunts (*venationes*) for the entertainment of the crowd.³⁴ Tiberius had finally enjoyed a lesser *ovatio* of his own honouring his victories in Illyricum and Pannonia – albeit two years after his younger brother. The status of the brothers *Claudii Neronēs* had never been so high.³⁵

Rome must have seemed a world away to the troops of Drusus' expeditionary force standing on the left bank of the Elbe River. The river is wide and slow moving and would have posed a considerable challenge to further advance. It would not be easy to cross without a fleet of rivercraft or erecting a pontoon bridge, for which Drusus would still need boats. Dio writes that he did in fact attempt to cross the river by some means, but failed.³⁶ Drusus' old enemy time was pressing and again the imminent changing of the seasons would soon mark the end of the campaigning. His army had now covered almost double the distance of the previous two campaigns. Mogontiacum lay some 500 kilometres (310.7 miles) away to the southwest and the route home took them straight through hostile territory. What he decided to do next would determine the outcome of the war – and the future of Rome's ambitions for Germania Magna.

Turning Point

One night inside the large leather *praetorium* tent Drusus was lying asleep in his cot. As told by Dio in matter of fact terms, Drusus was met by a Suebian woman of “superhuman size” (plate 43). In Latin she asked

“Whither, pray, art thou hastening, insatiable Drusus? It is not fated that thou shalt look upon all these lands. But depart; for the end alike of thy labours and of thy life is already at hand”.³⁷

Recounting the same event Suetonius uses the word *specie* – “apparition” – to describe the intruder.³⁸ The Romans accepted without question the existence of otherworldly creatures and things that go bump in the night.³⁹ Among them were the she-monster or hag Lamia who attacked her victims at night and the spirit *incubus* who pressed upon or crushed a person's chest while sleeping.⁴⁰ Significantly *incubus* was identified with gods and demons of forests and woodlands, such as Faunus, Pan or Diana.⁴¹ Most ancient and even modern cultures feature night spirits or monsters. Indeed, the word ‘nightmare’ derives from the proto-Germanic word *mar ō n* or Old English *mære* meaning an evil female spirit that was believed to lie upon and suffocate sleepers. However there may actually be a rational medical explanation for it. The condition known as ‘sleep paralysis’ leaves a person fully conscious but unable to move. Research shows it occurs as a natural part of REM (rapid eye movement) sleep, but in this case the brain wakes up, yet the body remains effectively paralysed. This state can be accompanied by vivid hypnagogic hallucinations and subjects may feel an acute sense of danger or terror, even perceiving the presence of demonic or

ghost-like objects with them in the room.⁴² The causes of the condition include sleeping with the face up, sleeping irregularly or insufficiently (narcolepsy), increased stress, dramatic or sudden changes in environment or lifestyle and a vivid dream that occurs before the experience.⁴³ Thus the tale of the dream may actually reveal that Drusus was suffering from sleep deprivation brought on by combat stress from four years of war. The message, if faithfully recorded, may even reveal his deep-seated anxiety about its outcome. Fanciful as this ghoulish tale is Dio may have unwittingly preserved a glimpse into Drusus' state of mind at this stage of the campaign.

Whether Drusus had a nightmare or suffered a bout of sleep paralysis, as reported in the historical accounts he evidently *believed* he had been visited by a supernatural spirit.⁴⁴ The episode was certainly unsettling to the young commander who had been brought up to respect the *mos maiorum* and he probably consulted the soothsayers for advice. While he considered what to do, he gave the order for the men to erect a *tropaeum* – “of the remarkable spoils of the Marcomanni he raised a high mound, by way of a trophy” writes Florus – on the left bank of the river to mark their arrival at this place.⁴⁵ The location of the *Tropaeum Drusi* was recorded by Ptolemy in his *Geographia* written over a hundred years later as located at the co-ordinates latitude 33° 45', longitude 52° 45'.⁴⁶ Various modern attempts have been made to identify its precise location, with Dresden or Magdeburg being the leading contenders.⁴⁷ Wherever it was, it was the furthest into Germania that a Roman army had ever gone.⁴⁸ In the eyes of the Romans it was seen as a highly significant landmark, a beacon marking the reach of Roman ambition and achievement into *barbaricum*. However they would go no further this year. Drusus heeded the phantasm's warning. He ordered his army to pack up and head back to the Rhine.

Whether the troops were told of Drusus' strange encounter with the Suebian woman or not is not clear from the ancient sources, but what is recorded is a certain hysteria which began to permeate the army. Otherwise normal sights and sounds now took on a sinister meaning. The troops began reporting strange happenings that hinted at something being not quite right with the world. Wolves were seen prowling around the marching camp, as though circling prey, and they heard howling.⁴⁹ Two young boys were seen riding through the camp – odd since children were not permitted within the ramparts. Women were heard wailing as though mourning a lost child, though none

could be found among the camp followers. Even the heavens seemed to be communicating that an important event would soon occur when shooting stars were seen overhead. For this last omen there might be a scientific explanation. These messengers of the heavens could in fact be the Perseids, a meteor shower that has been part of the night sky for over 2,000 years.⁵⁰ Crucially, this reference may also provide a date for the route march back to the Rhine. The Perseid meteor shower, which is associated with the comet Swift-Tuttle, is visible in the northern hemisphere from mid-July, rising to a peak around 9–14 August. During peak activity 70 to 80 meteors strike the Earth's atmosphere each hour. Around 25 August the Earth has passed out of the cloud of debris trailing off the comet and the spectacle ends. If true, these ominous events were occurring around mid-August 9 BCE.

In this disturbed frame of mind, the army and its commander continued its march to the Rhine following as best it could its outbound route. Traversing forests and fields, skirting swamps and fording streams, they stomped their way forward with grim determination (plate 30). Then the unthinkable happened. Somewhere between the Salas (Saal) and Weser rivers, Drusus was wounded in an accident.⁵¹ What exactly happened is unclear. Velleius Paterculus blandly records Drusus was the victim of “an unkind fate”.⁵² Dio mentions that he succumbed to a disease, but does not reveal which kind.⁵³ Livy, however, gives us a critical detail revealing that Drusus sustained a “fracture caused by the fall of his horse on his leg”.⁵⁴

Even today injuries from falls are common among riders. Horseback riding actually carries a higher injury rate than motorcycle riding. An equestrian may suffer a serious injury once every 350 hours on average, while a motorcyclist may have a serious accident only once every 7,000 hours of riding.⁵⁵ Most riders involved in a fall from a horse today suffer injuries to the ankle, elbow, foot, knee, shoulder or wrist, and it usually results in bruises, sprains and strains, with injuries to the head being the primary cause of death.⁵⁶ Exacerbating Drusus' trauma, however, was the fall of the horse on his leg. Horses are certainly heavy animals. A horse with a heart girth of 1.57 metres (62 inches) can weigh 301.2 kilogrammes (664 pounds) and one of 1.78 metres (70 inches) 446.8 kilogrammes (985 pounds) and the impact of a falling horse on a human leg can be devastating.⁵⁷ The human leg comprises 4 bones (the *femur*, the *patella*, the *tibia*, and the *fibula*) and bends at the hip, the knee, and the ankle. The *femur*, or thighbone, forms the upper part of

the leg and is the strongest and longest bone in the whole body. The lower leg consists of two bones, the *tibia*, or shinbone, and *fibula*. The *tibia* is located on the inside part of the leg and supports the weight of the body. The shin is the most frequently broken long bone. Located on the outside of the leg, next to the *tibia* is the smaller *fibula*. During an accident or trauma, these bones may break or fracture into two or more pieces. Human bones are remarkably strong and the amount of pressure required to break or crush bone is in the range 150–170 megapascals (MPa).⁵⁸ The force generated by the impact from falling off the back of a horse and hitting the ground alone is actually sufficient to break the *femur*.⁵⁹ Unfortunately for Drusus, even if he had not broken his leg during the initial fall, the impact of the full weight of the horse on his limb would certainly have done so.

The doctor (*medicus*) was immediately called for. As consul and commander, Drusus likely had a personal physician who attended to his needs, unlike the regular soldier at this time who received care when sick or wounded from the army doctor (*medicus ordinarius*).⁶⁰ Trained physicians for the rank and file were rare but as an aristocrat Drusus could afford to pay for the services of one.⁶¹ Often a Greek by birth, he would have been familiar with the works of Hippokrates of Kos, which have come down to us and give us an insight into medical science of the time.

In particular, Hippokrates wrote about fractures and, based on meticulous observation, distinguished between closed and open wounds.⁶² A *medicus* trained in his method recognised different kinds of fractures, such as what doctors today would call complete and incomplete fractures, as well as displaced and comminuted fractures. The *medicus* would also know to look for displacement or fracture gap and angulation in making his diagnosis. From Hippokrates he would know how to clean the wound by douching it with warm water; how to reset broken bones using the palms of the hands to apply pressure; how to anoint the wound with cerate, construct a splint, and finally how to apply bandages.⁶³ The *medicus* would be assisted by orderlies called *capsarii* after the first aid box (*capsarius*) they carried, and who were expert in bandaging. Trajan's column shows such a *capsarius* attending to a soldier with a thigh wound, applying a therapeutic ointment, and wrapping the limb with bandages, holding the roll of linen in the right hand and carefully unrolling it as he works from left to right.⁶⁴ The first century CE writer A. Cornelius Celsus tells us more about the methods Roman

military doctors used to treat fractures, dislocations and wounds borne of first-hand experience in field hospitals. He cautioned doctors to watch for bleeding (haemorrhaging) and inflammation, which could cause death. He knew that open injuries carried a higher risk of infection than closed. They required removal of all dirt and contamination. After cleaning the wound, the Roman doctor had several medicaments available to him. Celsus noted that vinegar could be used to staunch the flow of blood by pouring it directly into the wound.⁶⁵ He recommended for a severe wound, placing wool soaked in vinegar and oil over it. He also wrote how, if a wound could not be stitched, the skin could be pinned together with a suture or a brooch (*fibula*).⁶⁶

With its commander wounded, the expeditionary force set up a summer camp (*in aestivis castris*).⁶⁷ The injury was serious and the *princeps* had to be told. A messenger was dispatched. It is a testament to how good military communications were that the news reached Augustus, who was now in Ticinum (Pavia), in only a few days.⁶⁸ It happened that Tiberius was there visiting his parents, having just returned from a successful season campaigning in Illyricum.⁶⁹ He immediately set off to be at his brother's side.⁷⁰ On the journey he was accompanied by one Namantabagius, a "conquered barbarian", but to judge by his name he was probably by nationality a Raetian or Norican or German.⁷¹ Dio says that Tiberius was "not far" from Drusus: but this raises the question of how far is 'not far'?⁷² Maximus writes that from Ticinum they took the route over the Alps to the Rhine, covering a distance of 200 Roman miles (296.2 kilometres, 183.9 miles) "in a single day and night", and changing horses from time to time.⁷³ So incredible a feat it was to the ancients that their journey was to become the enduring land speed record of the Roman epoch.⁷⁴ Pliny the Elder even recorded it in his encyclopaedic *Natural History*, including the important detail that Tiberius accomplished the great distance at high speed in a carriage (*vehiculis*).⁷⁵ The references to the journey of 200 miles cannot be for the entire distance: surely they must understate the truth? The actual distance, of course, depends on the whereabouts of Drusus' summer camp in Germania – over which historians have argued since the 19th Century – as well as Tiberius' route to get there.⁷⁶ Roman milestones state the distance from Altinum on the Po River to the Danube alone was 350 miles (see Ancient Sources). Even today, taking the most direct modern roads, the distance between Pavia, Italy and, say, Göttingen, Germany is 1,065

kilometres (661.8 miles). Yet the Roman authors do not actually state that Tiberius reached Drusus after a 200-mile long journey: rather they are commenting on the astonishing speed achieved by the intrepid travellers. Perhaps the best we can deduce is that Tiberius and his companion took a fast cart over a metalled road travelling at breakneck speed as far as the Rhine, and having crossed it, they traced the route on horseback until they reached Drusus' summer camp.

Even in sickness Drusus had not completely lost his sensibilities. He was greatly concerned that his officers and men should show his brother the respect he deserved upon his arrival. Drusus requested his men to address Tiberius as consul and commander-in-chief, and to erect a *principa* to the right of his own tent.⁷⁷ Valerius Maximus later chose the story for his collection of historical anecdotes as an example of brotherly devotion (*pietas*) and compared the Claudius brothers to Castor and Pollux. The mythological Dioscuri twins were revered by the Romans who believed they had fought on the battlefield on their side in 498 BCE at Lake Regillus.⁷⁸ It was a fitting parallel.

When he finally reached the camp Tiberius found it steeped in gloom. The soldiers had even coined a name for their camp: they called it *Castra Scelerata* – 'the Accursed Fort'.⁷⁹ In the time since the messenger had set off to deliver his message and Tiberius and Namantabagius had made their epic journey from Ticinum, Drusus' health had taken a dramatic turn for the worse. He had succumbed to a fever.⁸⁰ Tiberius arrived just in time to find his brother laying in his cot still breathing, but barely alive.⁸¹ Grasping his brother's hand, they exchanged some final words and Drusus exhaled for the last time. The Suebian phantasm's prophecy had come to pass. Thirty days after his fall, Drusus was dead.⁸²

Chapter 7

Drusus the Hero

Aftermath

The Homecoming

News of Drusus' passing spread like wildfire through the camp. How, the soldiers must have asked in their bewilderment, could their fit and energetic 29-year old *imperator* die from a broken leg? Trained in the medical science of Hippokrates, the Roman doctor would likely have known on examining the wound that the prognosis on Drusus' injury was bleak. Probably trained in one of the Greek medical schools, he would have read Hippokrates of Kos' treatise *On Fractures* in which he writes:

Those cases in which the bone of the thigh, or of the arm, protrudes, do not easily recover. For the bones are large, and contain much marrow; and many important nerves, muscles, and veins are wounded at the same time. And if you reduce them, convulsions usually supervene; and, if not reduced, acute bilious fevers come on, with singultus and mortification.¹

Leg breaks resulting from blunt trauma frequently have complications and can and do lead to death. Particular to Drusus, who was likely suffering with a fractured *femur* or pelvis, was what doctors today call 'hypovolemic' or 'circulatory shock' in which the heart is unable to pump enough blood to the body. It can result from a variety of causes: blood vessel damage; aseptic necrosis of bone segments from impaired circulation; and fat embolism.² Fat embolism is a complication that occurs with long bone fractures (usually the *femur*). The marrowfat escapes from the bone and enters the blood stream where it travels to the lungs and brain and causes blockages leading to acute respiratory failure, altered mental status, skin changes and low platelets. The diagnosis is made clinically, but there are no specific tests for it. Even today, there is no specific treatment. All a doctor can do is manage the symptoms.

When blood supply is cut off to parts of the body, the tissue begins to die and this process is called gangrene.³ Dry gangrene occurs when the flow of blood is reduced through the arteries,

hence it appears slowly and advances gradually. Wet or moist gangrene develops when the infected wound is left untreated. This condition was well known to Roman military doctors who referred to gangrene as *cancer*, and knew to cut out the dead tissue, clean the wound and apply fresh dressings, or if the patient showed no sign of recovery to amputate the affected limb.⁴ It is less likely that gangrene ended Drusus' life.

As the accident had occurred in the open country or forest, however, Drusus would likely have been exposed to tetanus. Tetanus is an infectious disease caused by contamination of wounds from bacteria that live in the soil.⁵ Tetanus occurs when a wound becomes contaminated with the bacterium *Clostridium tetani* which is a hardy organism capable of living many years in the soil, dust and animal waste in the form of a spore. When these spores become activated and develop into gram-positive bacteria they quickly multiply and produce the very powerful toxin tetanospasmin that binds to motor nerves which in turn control muscles. The symptoms of tetanus infection are severe, uncontrollable muscle spasms during which the jaw may be 'locked', hence the disease is sometimes called 'lockjaw'. In severe cases, the muscles used to breathe can spasm, causing a lack of oxygen to the brain and other organs that can lead to death.

Without access to the Roman doctor's postmortem report, we shall probably never know for certain the actual cause of Drusus' death. Perhaps the most that can be said is the likely cause was a fracture of one or more bones in the leg (*femur*, *tibia* or *fibula*) due to the blunt impact of a horse falling on it, possibly resulting in an embolism leading to hypertensive cardiovascular disease. It was a slow and miserable death.

The troops demanded the body and despite the emotional strain Tiberius maintained extraordinary composure and insisted that the troops show the same.⁶ The news of Drusus' death had to be officially communicated to Livia and Augustus, and it would take a few days to reach them in Ticinum, so a messenger was dispatched immediately. Meanwhile, Tiberius saw to the practicalities of transporting the body back to Roman territory. A death mask was made so that Drusus' face would be able to join those of his ancestors.⁷ Then the corpse had to be prepared for the long journey. This required the body to be washed with warm water, anointed with unguents and a form of embalming to be undertaken.⁸ The body was dressed in Drusus' best clothes, which would be his *toga praetexta* since he was still consul of Rome, or his military armour and *paludamentum* since he was on

campaign. A coin was slipped under Drusus' tongue to pay Charon the ferryman who would carry his spirit across the River Styx to Paradise in the afterlife. Flowers, garlands and wreaths were strewn over the body as it lay while candles and lamps bathed the commander's tent in subdued light.

The men of Drusus' legions nevertheless insisted on showing their respects in their own particular way.⁹ To this Tiberius agreed, but it would require an extraordinary pact with the native peoples. Emissaries were sent out from the camp to the Germanic tribes to request a truce. Remarkably they granted it and suspended hostilities – such was the reverence with which his foes regarded Drusus.¹⁰ Free to move without fear of attack, the officers – tribunes and centurions – in turn carried the funeral bier on their shoulders from the summer camp back through Germania to Mogontiacum, a journey that must have taken several days as they navigated the streams, rivers and forests without the benefit of a metalled road. Once they reached the fortress on the Rhine, the men hoped that the body of their beloved commander would be cremated and his urn allowed to stay there. However, Augustus had another idea. Drusus would be buried in Rome.

Then began the long slow journey by road from the city of Mogon to the city of Romulus. Drusus' corpse was flanked by his lictors carrying symbolically broken *fascēs*.¹¹ Tiberius walked in front of the hearse “all the way” to Rome in an extraordinarily moving and very public demonstration of fraternal devotion (*pietas*).¹² The exact route is not recorded, but the cortège could have traversed Tres Galliae, rather than going via Raetia, as Drusus had been its governor for the last six years. Might the *concilium Galliarum* have been convened at Lugdunum to pay its last respects? The main road from Mogontiacum passed through the city so it is likely there was some form of solemn valedictory commemoration by the men who had known him personally and conducted amid the splendid surroundings of the imperial cult sanctuary he had commissioned. As news of the approaching convoy went ahead of the cortège, people turned out to line the roadsides and mourn their governor and to catch a glimpse of him – the *primores*, civic grandees and ordinary townsfolk of the *civitates*, *coloniae*, *pagi* and *vici*, who had benefited in different ways from Drusus' personal generosity. The leading men of these towns took turns to bear Drusus' corpse upon their shoulders so that they too could pay their respects and later recount in their old age to their descendants how they had played their part on that solemn occasion.¹³ If the route chosen went along the road

that crossed the Alps via the Geneva Pass, King Cottius may also have been able to offer his condolences in person to Tiberius, Antonia and the children at Segusio. No one wanted to miss out on this extraordinary funeral march.

Augustus and Livia met the body when the cortège entered Italia. As in Tres Galliae, so too in the homeland in town after town the burghers poured out to witness an event they would remember for the rest of their lives.¹⁴ The senior men of every *colonia* and *municipium* offered their shoulders to bear the weight of the *princeps*' deceased stepson and pyres everywhere burned in remembrance of him.¹⁵ It seemed the entire nation mourned for its young prince. After weeks on the road the body finally reached Rome followed by a throng of mourners who had joined Tiberius on his long walk home.¹⁶ It was received by the *quaestors*' clerks (*scribae questorii*) who were the highest-ranking personal assistants of the magistrates.¹⁷ Drusus was, after all, still consul and this was to be a state funeral (*funera dictiva*).¹⁸ While the arrangements were made, the body was prepared and laid in state in the Forum Romanum.¹⁹ When the date and time of the event were decided, a herald announced it to the people of Rome in a customary form of words referring to "the famous Nero Claudius Drusus, citizen, deceased".²⁰

It was already autumn and with the changing of the season there was a sense of a passing era. On the day of the funeral, the procession of mourners set off from the place the body had lain in state. It would be a mistake to imagine the occasion as a modern head of state's funeral with its sombre pomp and pageantry, flags at half-mast and troops turned out in their dress uniforms. A Roman aristocrat's last rites were more in the style of a traditional funeral in New Orleans. Players of reed pipes led the way, followed by musicians playing flutes, horns and *tubae*.²¹ Hired mourners (*praeficae*) wailed their grief loudly and uncontrollably (*lugubris eiulatio*), occasionally breaking out into a song (*naenia*) in honour of the deceased. Accompanying them, men carried lit torches and dancers swirled in rhythmic steps. It was also the Roman way to mix solemn ceremony and vulgar elements of the pantomime. Clowns (*mimi*) joked with the onlookers, making ribald comments and coarse jests, exaggerating and ridiculing some well-known foibles of Drusus' character.²² Just because he was dead did not mean a Roman was spared the barbed tongue of the living. Behind the *praeficae* and *mimi* followed a procession of Drusus' ancestors. The *imagines* of the men Drusus had seen as a child in the cupboards of the *atria* of his fathers' houses were now attached to life-size

manequins dressed in clothing and bore the insignia of their various offices – *consules*, *praefecti*, *tribuni* – and rode in chariots as if alive.²³ They were accompanied by lictors bearing their *fascēs* as appropriate to their respective magistracies. More *lictōres* dressed in black immediately preceded the members of the first family – Livia, Tiberius, Antonia and the children. The mourning women wore their hair dishevelled but no personal jewellery. Now came the bier (*lectus*) bearing the body of Drusus, uncovered so that it could be seen by the onlookers. Behind him came men carrying placards upon which were inscribed words or symbols evoking the exploits and achievements of the man in his short but eventful life.

The *pompa* wound its way around the Forum Romanum. When the procession reached the *rostrum*, it halted.²⁴ It was customary for the body of the deceased to be raised upright so it appeared to stand and could be seen by the crowd that had assembled to watch and listen.²⁵ The ‘ancestors’ were gathered and set down on curule chairs below the *rostrum*.²⁶ As chief mourners his surviving family of Antonia, young Nero, Livilla and Tiberius sat close by. Brother Tiberius now solemnly ascended the *rostrum* and from there he gave the official eulogy (*laudatio funebris*) on behalf of his family; from this same spot as a young boy of nine he had spoken an oration in honour of his father, and here just two years before Drusus had spoken in memory of his mother-in-law, Octavia.²⁷ Tiberius’ words are not preserved but we might imagine that he spoke of his love for his brother and his friendship for a man he truly admired; and declaimed Drusus’ military exploits in the Alps and in Germania, and the great loss all Romans felt for their young *imperator*. Any sense of resentment he may have had towards his brother must surely now have left him: in death Drusus could no longer be a rival.²⁸

The funeral procession re-assembled and now departed the Forum Romanum. The bier was carried by members of the equestrian order (*ordo equestris*) and members of the senate.²⁹ Protocol required that Augustus, having been on campaign and now in mourning, wait outside the *pomerium* – meaning ‘the post behind the wall’ – which was the sacred boundary of the city.³⁰ The Circus Flaminius was the largest building able to accommodate a large crowd beyond the *pomerium* and it was there that Augustus gave the second *laudatio funebris*.³¹ Suetonius records part of his eulogy. In it, Augustus spoke in warm terms, praising his deceased stepson and prayed to the gods “to make his Caesars like him, and to grant himself as

honourable an exit out of this world as they had given him”.³² This was high praise indeed. Drusus was held up as a paragon he hoped Caius and Lucius – one of whom he hoped would succeed him – should emulate. That he desired a death as honorable might have seemed to be so much spin, for it was a miserably slow and painful death, but Drusus had died in the service of his country, surrounded by his countrymen, and for a Roman, that was as good as it got.

The body was then carried in a solemn procession to the Campus Martius.³³ The Romans at this period cremated their dead. A great pyre (*ustrinum*) had been constructed, possibly to look like an altar, decorated with pictures and statues and surrounded by cypress trees.³⁴ Drusus’ body resting on its bier was carefully placed upon the pyre. In accordance with a very ancient custom, Drusus’ eyelids were opened and closed, and Antonia kissed him in a final and public farewell. Members of the family and close friends tossed onto the pyre Drusus’ personal belongings and items he had been fond of during his lifetime. Then a relative or friend – most likely Tiberius – set the pyre alight. To the snap and crackle of burning kindling the mourners stood aside and watched as the raging flames consumed the body. A few hours later, after the fire had burned itself out wine was poured on to the scorched bones, the ashes were gathered up, covered with oil or honey and then placed in a jar or casket.³⁵

Drusus’ remains were destined to reside in the great mausoleum Augustus had created for himself and his family.³⁶ In death Drusus joined the exclusive company of other members of Augustus’ family who had gone before him – his son-in-law Marcellus, his best friend Agrippa, and most recently his sister Octavia. A description of the monument in its finished state survives written by Strabo who admired its large evergreen tree-covered mound surmounted by a bronze image of Augustus (fig. 5).³⁷ Even in its ruined state today, stripped of its earthen mound and with its brick superstructure laid bare, it is still a formidable building. At night in the summer months the flickering flames of candles and oil lamps often greet visitors taking a tour in the hope of encountering an imperial ghost. Its *tumulus* design echoes many of the funeral monuments of the Etruscans and Hellenistic aristocrats, perhaps stretching back to the barrows of the Bronze Age. Inside the Mausoleum of Augustus is a circular structure of concentric circles, at the centre of which originally stood a 150-foot high rectangular column of travertine.³⁸ Surrounding it are two concentric walls

that form the burial chamber. Beyond it three more concentric rings of brick and concrete extend outwards, the outermost wall measuring 300 Roman feet in diameter.³⁹ A doorway pierces through these three outer walls forming a vaulted vestibule leading to the burial chamber. The walls of the inner sanctum contain alcoves (*columbaria*) at the cardinal points in which were placed the urns containing the ashes and statues.⁴⁰ In one of these secluded spaces, the urn containing Drusus' ashes was placed. Engraved on the plaque that adorned that final resting place was a verse elegy composed for him by none other than Augustus himself.⁴¹

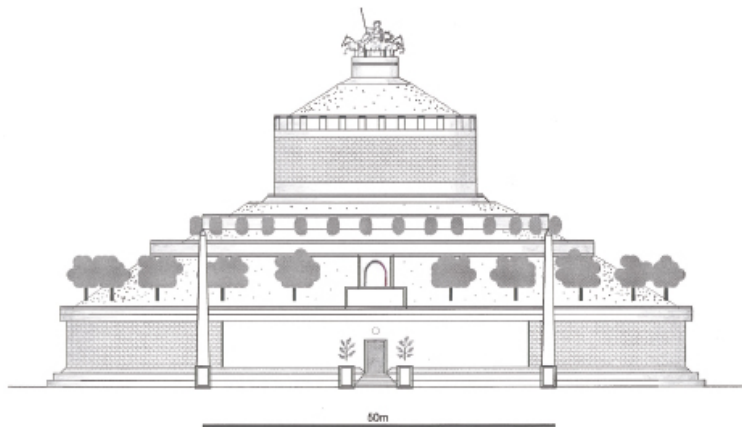


Figure 5: Drusus' final resting place was a niche in Augustus' Mausoleum, Rome, here in a reconstruction based on written accounts of the time and archaeological evidence. (Drawn by the author)

Forging the Legend

The Romans quickly realised that they had lost a great man. The senate met and passed resolutions awarding Drusus several posthumous honours recognising the merit of his achievements.⁴² They were not motivated to do so out of adulation, “but in testimony of his merit”.⁴³ Statues were to be put up in public places and a triumphal archway of marble (*marmoreum arcum*) was to be erected over the *via Appia* to commemorate Drusus’ victories in Germania Magna.⁴⁴ It no longer survives, but the surviving Arch of Augustus over the *via Flaminia* in Rimini gives us an idea of its likely dimensions. Built in 27 BCE, it has a single span arch measuring 9.92 metres (32.6 feet) high and 8.45 metres (27.7 feet) wide. The decoration of the Arch of Drusus is known from coins and it was intentionally grand (fig. 6).⁴⁵ Two pairs of engaged fluted columns with flamboyant Corinthian capitals flanked both sides of the single archway. The attic above featured an entablature and pediment with modillions beneath, and the spaces on either side above the columns were decorated with circular disks for portrait busts or shields.⁴⁶ There was an inscription in bronze letters dedicating the arch from the grateful SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS to Drusus in which were written the words DE GERMANIS – ‘of the *Germani*’. Placed on top at either end of the architrave were large trophies probably cast in bronze decorated with Germanic spoils of war.⁴⁷ From each hung captured body armour, Germanic shields (recognisable from their hexagonal shape), crossed *framea*, a victory wreath or torc, and a helmet placed on the ‘head’. Seated crosslegged below each trophy was a statue of a captive Germanic warrior, stripped to the waist, hands tied behind his back, and wearing recognisably barbarian trousers. Rising above them, and dominating the centre of the plinth, was an over lifesize statue of Drusus riding a horse. The sculptor exquisitely captured the moment in time when Drusus dueled for the *spolia opima*. The bareheaded commander was depicted dressed in full armour, wearing a muscled bronze cuirass and *pteriges* befitting a consul at war, his *paludamentum* swept up and trailing behind him by a breeze. His arm was shown raised above his head, ready to thrust his spear at an unseen enemy beyond in a *coup de grâce*, while the horse reared up on its hind legs, its muscled form taught with pent-up energy. In sparkling gilt-bronze Drusus was displayed to the world as the bold, valiant barbarian-slayer and the all-conquering Roman hero. *This* was how Augustus’ image-makers wished him to be

remembered.



Figure 6: Drusus' final resting place was a niche in Augustus' Mausoleum, Rome, here in a reconstruction based on written accounts of the time and archaeological evidence. (Drawn by the author)

The senate also voted to award Drusus posthumously the *agnomen* Germanicus – ‘conqueror of the *Germani*’.⁴⁸ It was the first time a Roman commander had been given this title.⁴⁹ Indeed, Drusus joined an élite group of Roman generals proudly bearing their battle honours as part of their name. This club of formidable Romans included P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus, who defeated Hannibal Barca at the Battle of Zama in 202 BCE; L. Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus who was victorious at the Battle of Pydna in 168 BCE; Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus who inflicted a defeat upon King Jugurtha at the Battle of the Muthul in 108 BCE; P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus, who successfully commanded operations against the pirates and Isauri in Cilicia in the eastern Mediterranean in the 70s BCE; and G. Octavius Thurinus, Augustus’ own natural father, who mopped up the last of Spartacus’ rebel gladiators at Thurii in 60 BCE.⁵⁰ The prestige of the title is demonstrated by the fact that it was also made hereditary, passing to Drusus’ surviving male heirs. His eldest son, now aged six, immediately adopted Germanicus as his *praenomen* in lieu of the name Tiberius his father had given him. The name was quickly adopted for official public use. Not long after the Senate issued its decree, in a northern suburb of the city, a group of craftsmen working on an inscription to mark the completion of work on restoring an altar received orders from their foreman to recut it: they erased the text and carved it anew including as much of the title as space would allow (see Ancient Sources).⁵¹

That Livia was distraught by the loss of her son is recorded by Seneca the Younger. “She never ceased,” he wrote,

from proclaiming the name of her dear Drusus. She had him pictured everywhere, in private and in public places, and it was her greatest pleasure to talk about him and to listen to the talk of others – she lived with his memory.⁵²

Yet as was expected of a Roman matron, she maintained severe restraint in displaying her personal emotions.⁵³ It became the source of inspiration for poets. One that survives is an elegiac poem written by someone purporting to have been a spectator at the event.⁵⁴ Who he was precisely is not known though he is often identified as P. Ovidius Naso (Ovid) or C. Albinovanus Pedo. This ‘pseudo-Ovidian poet’ calls upon the “mother of the Neros” not to disguise her grief and speaks of the life and military exploits of her son Drusus who serves as a model for others to copy, matched by Antonia.⁵⁵ Tiberius too had been devastated by his brother’s death.⁵⁶ The city’s tearful population

had come out in droves to share in Livia's sorrow at the funeral and sought to know why the gods had let Drusus die – even Mars and Tibur expressed their grief, wrote the poet, the river being dissuaded by the war god not to flood and extinguish the flames of the pyre.⁵⁷ Drusus' achievements and his great merits would endure through the ages, reassured the poet.⁵⁸ The elegy ends on the hopeful note that her son would now be in Elysium greeted by the shades of the departed ancestors.⁵⁹ She should not weep, he urged, for Drusus would not wish her to.⁶⁰

Meanwhile, the Senate, similarly sensitive to Livia's grief, ordered statues of Drusus to console her (plate 31). One of these was erected upon a column in the portico of the Temple of Apollo on the Palatinus where it stood among other images of Romans "of distinguished character".⁶¹ According to the *Tabula Hebana* his peers actually called Drusus a *fecundi ingeni* – a fecund or exuberant genius – the fact of which they would be reminded whenever the Conscript Fathers were convened at that place.⁶² Generously, the Senate also requested that Livia be enrolled among the élite band of women having three children, which accorded parents several privileges under the *ius trium liberorum* passed by Augustus.⁶³ This act granted the father or mother of three legitimate children preferences for their issue in standing for public office before the stipulated age or without the required interlude between holding office, which would benefit Drusus' two surviving sons in their political careers.

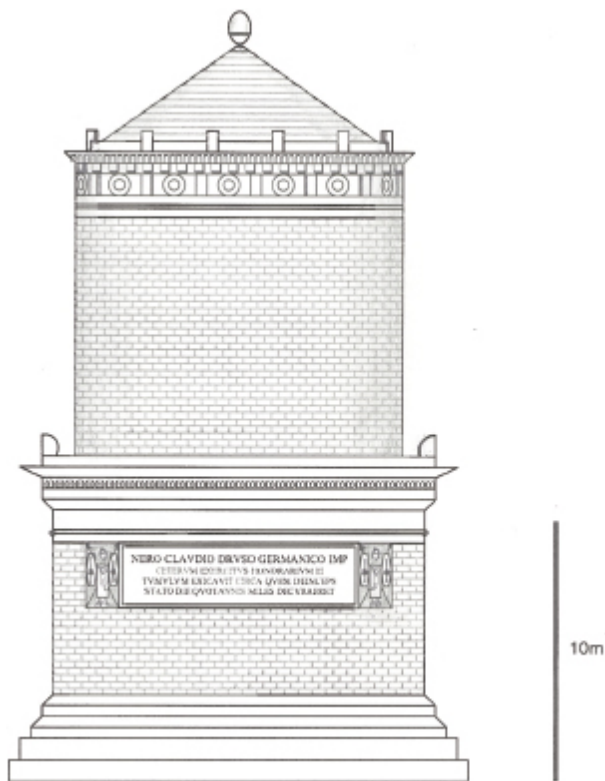


Figure 7: Drusus' Cenotaph in Mainz, Germany – here reconstructed from the ruined 'Drususstein' and similar *tumulus* monuments of the period – was his troops' tribute to his memory. (Drawn by the author)

In Mogontiacum “on the bank of the Rhenus itself” the soldiers erected their own lasting tribute to their deceased commander (*tumulus honorarius*, *kenotaphion*).⁶⁴ The stone and mortar core of the monument has been identified as the Eichelstein on the Jakobsberg, nowadays a quiet museum park in the busy city of Mainz. Its design echoes the tombs of nobles that lined the roads approaching the city of Rome, like the ‘Tumulus of the Servilii’, which is iconic of Augustan period funerary architecture.⁶⁵ It consisted of a large, square base upon which was a cylindrical drum surmounted by a conical roof or *tumulus* (fig. 7). At the very top may have been a simple acorn finial, or a *tropaeum* or perhaps a statue of Drusus gazing out across the Rhine River to the lands he conquered.⁶⁶ It was finished with a facing of marble or stone and likely bore an inscription. At an estimated 100 Roman feet (30 metres) high, it was the tallest memorial north of the Alps.⁶⁷ Suetonius records that the *tumulus* was the focal point for an annual event “on a stated day” including a ceremonial race or run by serving soldiers.⁶⁸ Delegates from the cities of Tres Galliae also observed the day with prayers and sacrifices.⁶⁹ In the lands he once administered a cult of Drusus now took root. These ceremonies were still taking place more than a quarter century after his death. In two of the badly damaged fragments of the so-called *tabula Siarensis* – bronze tablets found at Siara in southern Spain – are preserved the words of a senatorial decree concerning posthumous honours for Drusus’ son Germanicus. The partially reconstructed text reads:

A third arch should be erected either at [the winter camp of the army of the Roman people or next to the *tumulus*] which [the mourning army began] for Drusus, the brother of Tiberius Caesar Augustus [our *princeps*], and then [completed] with the permission of the divine Augustus, [and on top of that arch a statue of Germanicus Caesar should be placed, receiving [the standards recovered from the Germans, and the Ga]uls and Germans who [live] on this side of the Rhine, [the same states who were instructed by the Divine] Augustus [to make] sacrifice at the *tumulus* [of Drusus should be ordered to make a similar] sacrifice [at public expense in the same place] to the gods of the underworld [every year on the day that Germanicus Caesar died] and when [an army of the Roman people] should be in that region [it should offer sacrifice on that day, or on the birthday] of Germanicus Caesar [and it should march through the arch that is erected in accordance with this decree of the senate].⁷⁰

The senate ordered that another arch be erected in Rome specifying that:

On top of this arch a statue [of] Ger[manicus Caesar] should be placed in a triumphal chariot, and around its sides statues [of] D[rusus Germanicus

his father], the natural brother of Tiberius Caesar Augustus and of Antonia [his] mother [and of his wife Agrippina and] of [Li]via his sister and of Tiberius Germanicus his brother and of his sons and da[ughters].⁷¹

The decree offers important evidence for the development of the notion of the imperial family and of the ideology of the ruling regime.⁷² Drusus was a central figure in this conception, and his military achievements and ultimate sacrifice helped legitimise the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Even in death, Drusus was useful to Augustus and his successors.

When news of Drusus' death reached Herodes in far away Iudaea, the regent decided to commemorate Augustus' youngest stepson in one of the building projects of which he was most proud. Josephus records that the "tallest and most magnificent tower" of the outer harbour wall of Caesarea was henceforth called the 'Drusion' or 'Drusium'.⁷³ Its magnificence is suggested by the fact that the tower may have also contained royal chambers with high-level views over this cosmopolitan city which could be enjoyed by Herodes and members of his family when visiting.⁷⁴ On account of its great height the tower also functioned as a lighthouse at night.⁷⁵ For centuries to come, ships would be guided into one of the ancient world's busiest ports by the light of the 'Tower of Drusus'.

Rumour accompanied Drusus' arrival into the world and now it followed him on his departure from it. Stories began to circulate that Drusus had been poisoned by none other than Augustus.⁷⁶ The biographer of the Caesars reports that Drusus had been ordered to return to Rome but "made no haste to comply with the order", though when that act of insubordination occurred is not recorded.⁷⁷ The alleged disobedience and his fatal accident shortly thereafter were connected in some people's minds who then saw a conspiracy behind his death as the most obvious explanation. People sought deeper motives. Drusus' republican sympathies were apparently widely known. "The memory of Drusus was held in honour by the Roman people," remarked Tacitus, "and they believe that had he obtained empire, he would have restored freedom".⁷⁸ Had Augustus perceived Drusus as a threat to his position? The *princeps*' biographer asserts that he himself disbelieved the rumour adding that Augustus was extremely fond of his youngest stepson. Augustus had, in point of fact, declared before the senate that Drusus was a joint-heir along with Gaius and Lucius (adopted in 17 BCE) in the event of his death.⁷⁹ His eulogy at the Circus Flaminius had publicly expressed deep sentiments of love and admiration for his stepson. Furthermore, Augustus wrote a prose

memoir of the life of Drusus, which is sadly entirely lost to us – all the more so because it was a personal memoir from someone who knew him intimately.⁸⁰ It was Augustus too who had composed the verse – also now lost – that appeared on the plaque above his urn in the great family mausoleum.⁸¹ These did not seem to Suetonius like the calculated actions of a man intent on destroying a rival.

Notwithstanding his grief at losing Drusus, Augustus was still intent on concluding the German War in Rome's favour.⁸² Florus remarks that the Germanic nations were defeated but not yet subjugated, and that they respected the Romans' moral qualities (*mores*) under Drusus' rule more than they did Rome's military might.⁸³ It now fell to Tiberius to assume command of the Rhine army and in 8 BCE he departed for the front.⁸⁴ Where Drusus had generally preferred the *gladius* to bring the German to his will, his older brother's favoured weapon was diplomacy backed by the *threat* of force.⁸⁵ It had served him well in Parthia and he evidently felt it would be worth trying again in Germania. Indeed, it was an insightful judgement. Hearing that Tiberius had mobilized his forces and crossed the Rhine, the nations living in the region bounded by the Ems, Lippe and Weser rivers sent emissaries to him to sue for peace.⁸⁶ Initially absent, however, were the Sugambri.⁸⁷ According to Dio, Augustus told Tiberius he would not accept terms from the Germans unless the Sugambri were part of the peace deal.⁸⁸ The Romans and Sugambri embarked on a course of brinkmanship lasting several weeks. The Sugambri sent envoys who seemed unwilling to, or had been instructed not to, take the negotiations with the gravity the Romans expected. His patience tried, Tiberius had the Sugambrian delegation arrested, split up and distributed among the cities of Tres Galliae.⁸⁹ The imprisoned ambassadors were very distressed by this unexpected turn of events and allegedly committed suicide (though that may have been cynical propaganda spin on a series of grubby behind-closed-doors executions). The stakes having now risen to the point where outright war might once again break out, the Sugambri finally returned prepared to negotiate terms. The result was a stunning U-turn by the Germanic nation that had for a generation led the offence against Rome. Tiberius' calculated gamble had paid off. It provided timely propaganda the *princeps* needed for the audience at home. Displaying his talent for propaganda, Augustus states in his own memoirs that Maelo of the Sugambri was one of several named kings that "sent me supplications".⁹⁰ The terms offered to the Sugambri were different than those

offered to the other nations. Like the Ubii before them, the Sugambri agreed to be relocated across the Rhine – Eutropius mentions 40,000 people – to the vicinity of Vetera where they became known as Ciberni, Cuberni or Cugerni, under the watchful eyes of the men of *Legiones* XVII and XVIII.⁹¹ Soon the Sugambri, like the Ligures, Raeti and Vindelici of the Alps before them, were supplying men for the Roman army. The *cohors Sugambrorum* quickly earned a reputation as a fierce fighting unit characterised by blood chilling war chanting and clashing of weapons before battle.⁹² Of the fate of Maelo the warchief, history is silent. Perhaps he settled in to a quiet life as a Romano-Germanic gentleman farmer, or he may have led one of the new military units under his own name and found adventure far from his new home.

For his victories, Augustus granted Tiberius the title of *imperator* and an equestrian triumph.⁹³ He then took up his second term as consul with Cn. Calpurnius Piso.⁹⁴ In his address to the senate on 1 January 7 BCE Tiberius set out his aspirations for the year and among them was the repair of the Temple of Concordia.⁹⁵ Upon its entablature, he said, would be written a dedication from both himself and his brother Drusus. The session concluded, he rode his horse as *triumphator* along the *via Sacra* to the adulation of cheering crowds, enjoying a well-deserved occasion for public recognition, before ascending to the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus for a feast with members of the senate.⁹⁶

Later that year he returned to Germania to deal with fresh disturbances there: despite the peace treaties of the previous year, the natives were ever restless.⁹⁷ They rebelled again in 1 CE while L. Domitius Ahenobarbus – the first official *legatus augusti pro praetore* appointed by Augustus to *provincia* Germania – was campaigning.⁹⁸ Ahenobarbus (‘bronze beard’) achieved what Drusus had not by crossing the Elbe River. He engaged the Hermunduri, whom he relocated to the region of Bohaemium in part of the territory already occupied by the Marcomanni. The Romans met no opposition from Marboduus’ people and even formed a “pact of friendship” with them.⁹⁹ At the marketplace of the Ubii on the Rhine River Ahenobarbus set up an altar to *Roma et Augustus*, replicating the one Drusus had established at Lugdunum.¹⁰⁰ The town changed its name from Oppidum Ubiorum to Ara Ubiorum to reflect its new status as a cult centre and Ahenobarbus also set up his provincial headquarters there.¹⁰¹ He attempted to negotiate for a number of hostages held by the Cherusci, but the involvement of other tribes as intermediaries resulted in failure and brought contempt for the

Romans among the Germanic nations.¹⁰²

All was not well in the imperial household, however. Tiberius had thrown a fit for reasons scholars still debate and went into a self-imposed seven year exile to Rhodes.¹⁰³ Only after a reconciliation with Augustus did Tiberius return again to deal with the situation in Germania in 4 CE.¹⁰⁴ Sharing command of the campaign with Tiberius this time was G. Sentius Saturninus, the new *legatus augusti pro praetore*, who had been a legionary legate under Drusus.¹⁰⁵ During the next two years, Oberaden was abandoned and the legions moved to new forward positions at Anreppen and Haltern and along the Lippe, while the unit that had been stationed at Dangstetten was subsequently moved to Oberhausen near Augsburg in 9 BCE, and transferred again to a new 37 hectare site at Marktbreit am Rhein in Bavaria eighteen years later.¹⁰⁶ An amphibious campaign retraced the route taken by Drusus which took the fleet via the North Sea to the Elbe and sailed it upstream. Meanwhile, a land invasion led to the Cherusci, Chatti and others suing for peace terms.¹⁰⁷ Under the energized force of Roman military might it seemed Germania Libera would finally bow to the Roman yoke. Indeed, the process of Romanisation of Germania had already begun.¹⁰⁸ In large part due to Drusus' explorations, the Romans had a much better understanding of the extent of Germania Magna and its peoples. Writing in the 80s and 90s CE Tacitus mentions forty tribes by name, almost five times the number recorded in Iulius Caesar's *Gallic War*. Civilian settlements were being established. The remains at Waldgrimes in the Lahn valley discovered in 1993, complete with a basilica and forum dated using dendrochronology to 4 BCE, are proof of this.¹⁰⁹ Other similar settlements may yet lie awaiting discovery by archaeologists.

In Rome Augustus' carefully laid plans for succession had begun to unravel. In 2 CE Lucius died and three years later his brother Caius passed away. Faced with the prospect of dying without a successor, on 26 June 4 CE Augustus adopted both Tiberius and Agrippa Postumus (the youngest and only surviving son of Vipsanius Agrippa and Iulia).¹¹⁰ That same year, at the *princeps'* request, Tiberius adopted Drusus' eldest son, Germanicus, who was now 19 years' old (plate 33).¹¹¹ In 5 or 6 CE, while Tiberius was waging war again over the Rhine, Germanicus and Claudius laid on gladiatorial games in honour of their father, to which the public responded with approval "for this mark of honour" feeling "comforted" by the recognition.¹¹² In another public display of *pietas* for his brother, in 6 CE Tiberius dedicated the Temple of Castor and Pollux in his own

name and that of Drusus, now dead since fifteen years.¹¹³ In the same year both Augustus and Tiberius were acclaimed *imperator* and the governor Sentius Saturninus was granted triumphal honours for brokering not one but two truces with the Germanic nations.¹¹⁴ In late 6 CE, Tiberius executed his own plan to take on the Marcomanni in their homeland of Bohaemium.¹¹⁵ It was the largest operation ever conducted by the Roman army, with at least twelve legions involved. However, hardly had they advanced north a rebellion in Pannonia – triggered by resentment at the punitive tribute levied on its peoples – stopped the massed army in its tracks and it had to be recalled.¹¹⁶ It would take three years of blood and treasure to quell the revolt. Taking part in suppressing that violent insurgency was a young noble of the Cherusci leading a Roman cavalry unit. He had received privileges directly from Augustus himself and assumed the name C. Iulius Arminius.

In 7 CE, Quinctilius Varus was appointed *legatus augusti pro praetore* of Germania. The son of the impoverished patrician family had done rather well for himself. In the complex world of political favours, Augustus tended to promote men from within his own family and social network. Varus was now married to Augustus' great niece, Claudia Pulchra. Varus' task was to pacify the region and transform it into a province. Perhaps he did the job too well.¹¹⁷ As the summer of 9 CE turned to autumn word reached Rome from Germania of a terrible disaster. At a place few Romans had ever heard of called *saltus Teutoburgiensis* reports came of a military catastrophe.¹¹⁸ Three legions – *Legiones* XVII, XVIII and XIX, all of them once under Drusus' command – had been destroyed by a coalition of Germanic bandits.¹¹⁹ Incredibly the reports stated that the rebels had been led by C. Iulius Arminius, who was supposedly a trusted Roman ally. Cunningly he had used his position of status and trust to trick Varus and his intimate knowledge of Roman military doctrine to wipe out the governor's army.¹²⁰ As remarkably, it was a repeat of the *same* ambush tactic Drusus had suffered at Arbaldo almost two decades before, except this time the Cherusci had not wavered and the Romans had *lost*. The Roman population panicked: barbarians were not supposed to be able to outwit them and now there was little between the Rhine and the Tiber to stop an invasion of Germanic hordes.¹²¹ Many recalled with terror the stories they had heard from grandparents about the Cimbri and Teutones. Where in this time of need was *their* Marius? A state of emergency was declared. Citizens were to be called up and given rudimentary training on the Campus Martius

before being dispatched to Tres Galliae.¹²² When the appeal for volunteers went unheeded, Augustus drew men's names by lot. When that failed to produce enough men he began ordering executions, and enlisted freedmen to the colours – a measure of how desperate the situation had become.¹²³ It was then that he fired his German bodyguard.¹²⁴ The feared invasion never came, but the trauma of the *clades Variana* remained for years. The few survivors from the three ambushed legions struggled back with tales of horror at the hands of blood-crazed *Germani*. That kind of talk was corrosive to public morale, decided Augustus: by edict, all survivors were banned from entering the Italian homeland for fear they would scare the local communities.¹²⁵ The stain of shame would live with those men until their deaths. Augustus himself took the news personally and very badly. “Qinctilius Varus!” he was heard to cry as he tore at his hair and clothes, “give me back my legions!”¹²⁶ It seemed his dream of a Roman Germania and beyond lay in tatters, yet Tiberius returned the following year and, with Germanicus' support, after two years' campaigning restored Roman control, at least along the river.¹²⁷

As his reign drew to a close, Augustus' interest in annexing Germania waned and he attended to more modest enterprises. Before he died he is said to have made his successor promise not to overextend the boundaries of the empire: the Romans had their *Lebensraum* – let that be enough. When Augustus finally passed away on 19 August 14 CE at the age of 77, his adopted son Tiberius reluctantly assumed the role of *princeps*. Quickly and quietly Agrippa Postumus was executed leaving Tiberius without a rival.¹²⁸ Drusus may have wished for a return to the traditional *res publica* but under his elder brother the form of autocratic government set up by Augustus continued and with it most of his policies, though Tiberius went out of his way to show great deference to the senate.¹²⁹ For the most part Tiberius heeded the advice of his stepfather, and disregarded that of his brother. Just months into Tiberius' principate, the Rhine legions mutinied citing poor pay and conditions.¹³⁰ Germanicus went to them to restore order. He appealed to their sense of duty and invoked the name of Drusus, saying how their behaviour shamed his father's memory. Germanicus negotiated fairer terms, the mutiny was suspended, its ringleaders executed, and he returned to Rome.¹³¹ The infamy of Teutoburg remained, however, and Germanicus pleaded the case to restart the war in Germania to avenge the vanquished legions and to retrieve the three lost *aquilae* – indeed to reclaim Germania itself. Tiberius agreed.¹³²

Again it was to his father Drusus' first campaigns that Germanicus looked for strategy and tactics, copying both the amphibious and land campaigns to the last detail. Leading his fleet through the *fossa Drusiana*, it was said "he prayed to his father to lend him, now that he was venturing on the same enterprise, the willing and favourable aid of the example and memory of his counsels and achievements".¹³³ Though they found the bleached bones of the fallen at Teutoburg, gave them a decent burial, and engaged the Germans in battle, the campaigns of 15 and 16 CE against Arminius were inconclusive. The Germanic leader survived to fight another day and the Roman commander recovered two of the eagles. Germanicus argued for a troop surge to break the Germanic insurgency, but Tiberius had become frustrated with Germania. He had first hand experience of the region, lost too many men there, not least his brother. To his adopted son he granted a full triumph, not an *ovatio* – the first the city had seen since Augustus' own in 29 CE – for the following year, recognising the young man's capabilities.¹³⁴ The Romans would celebrate their hollow victory over the Germanic tribes in an all-singing, all-dancing tickertape parade, but there would be no further missions over the Rhine on his watch. The formidable force of eight legions gathered along the mighty river's banks would remain in the winter camps Drusus had established thirty years earlier.¹³⁵ The idea of outright conquest by military means was quietly forgotten and replaced with a cheaper, slower, more indirect approach of letting the Germans fight each other in an ongoing Roman proxy war.¹³⁶ Even without the presence of urban centres and their civilian administrations on the right bank, Roman influence had still taken root. Germanic tribal society was changing as enterprising leaders sought to exploit the insatiable Roman demand for blond haired slave boys and girls and resinous amber nodules, using exchange with or raids on their neighbours to meet it. In return the Romans satisfied the Germans' lust for silver coins, bronze buckets and finely decorated daggers.¹³⁷ From the archetypal consumer society that was Rome, the Germanic nobility had developed a taste for their flashy trash and trinkets.

Drusus' eldest son was now widely regarded as the favourite to succeed Tiberius – indeed the Rhine army had actually wanted Germanicus to succeed Augustus.¹³⁸ From the far northwest frontier the diplomatic and military focus shifted to the near east and it was delegated to Germanicus to oversee it.¹³⁹ Hardly a year had passed, however, when Germanicus died

suddenly in Antioch, Syria on 10 October 19 CE.¹⁴⁰ Death from poisoning was suspected and Tiberius' involvement was implicated through the machinations of Calpurnius Piso, but never categorically proved.¹⁴¹ The ashes were returned to Rome for a state funeral and Rome was plunged into a period of deep depression by the young commander's death.¹⁴² Callously Antonia and Livilla were forbidden by Tiberius to attend.¹⁴³ Drusus' brother was a changed man. Happier to be among soldiers, Tiberius had not wanted to be *princeps* and ruling the Roman Empire was a lonely and unpopular business. He retired to Capreae (Capri).¹⁴⁴ He entrusted the running of the state to L. Aelius Seianus, *praefectus* of his Praetorian cohorts, a man he had come to trust completely, some said blindly.¹⁴⁵ The *princeps* could now spend increasingly longer breaks from the boredom of politics in Rome. Tiberius became increasingly reclusive, retiring to his fabulous villa on Capri and indulging in depravities that would have disgusted his younger brother's vanilla sensibilities.¹⁴⁶ But Tiberius had been duped. In 31 CE Antonia Minor discovered a plot hatched by Seianus and her own daughter, Livilla, to remove the emperor in a *coup d'état*. Of the three children of Drusus and Antonia she had proved the problem child – in her the 'wickedness gene' of the Claudian clan had manifested itself and she had already allegedly poisoned her husband – Tiberius' son named after his brother, Drusus Iulius Caesar.¹⁴⁷ Antonia informed Tiberius who had the prefect arrested and executed.¹⁴⁸ Livilla was given over to her mother who locked her away in her bedroom where she starved to death on 29 June 29 CE.

After six tediously long years, Tiberius died on 16 March 37 CE and the Roman world let out a sigh of relief.¹⁴⁹ Drusus' young grandson G. Iulius Caesar (Stemma Drusorum no. 19) now succeeded him.¹⁵⁰ Though he had grown up in the winter camps of the legions along the Rhine, basking in the fine reputation of his father and grandfather and earned the nickname *caligula* on account of his little army boots, he lacked hands-on military experience.¹⁵¹ When Germanicus died, Caligula's grandmother Antonia assumed responsibility for his upbringing.¹⁵² As the new princeps Caligula looked to his father for the halo of inherited military glory. Indeed his reign started with great promise.¹⁵³ He was in fact a damaged individual who barely survived the torment of living as a favourite in the perverted household of his uncle Tiberius, witnessing terrible things a child should never see.¹⁵⁴ Then, suddenly, he fell ill. The Roman people held their breath and prayed for his recovery. When he did re-emerge he

now displayed signs of madness, not least of which was his fervent belief that he was now a god. The family tree of the *Claudii Neronēs* had grown its bitterest fruit yet.

Antonia Minor was now 73 years old and she had been Drusus' widow for forty-six of those. She had received honours from her grandson but witnessed the monster he had become.¹⁵⁵ She had grown weary with life. She had lost her husband early in their marriage, outlived her son Germanicus and overseen the death of her daughter Livilla. Of her sole surviving son Claudius she had little good to say. In September or October 37 CE she finally passed away. Caligula allegedly did not attend the funeral preferring to watch the flames consume the pyre from his *triclinium*.¹⁵⁶

Caligula's behaviour became increasingly erratic and extreme, some said insane.¹⁵⁷ There were arrests and executions, confiscations and exiles. One of these was the governor of Germania, Gn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus on a charge of conspiracy. On the military front there was a successful march into Germania apparently as far as the territory of the Suebi in 39 CE, imitating what his father had done after the mutinies, which harassed the natives and raised the morale of the troops.¹⁵⁸ There was a failed attempt at an invasion of Britannia, in which the troops allegedly picked up seashells off the Gallic beach as trophies of war against Neptune.¹⁵⁹ At his triumph Gauls were dressed up as Germanic warriors in an unconvincing display that was a mockery of a triumph.¹⁶⁰ Finally, the reign of terror was too much even for members of the privileged Praetorian Cohorts. Led by Cassius Chaerea a plot was hatched to assassinate him. On 24 January 41 CE they struck, Drusus' grandson fell bleeding and the tyrant was slain.¹⁶¹ Initially the population was too terrified to believe it, fearing it was a trick to expose the disloyal.

Glory Restored

Soldiers swept through the palace looking for the murderers. When they found the uncle of Caligula, rather than slaying him, they decided that he should now be their leader.¹⁶² Unexpectedly Drusus' youngest son, the lame and stammering Ti. Claudius Nero, now found himself ruler of the Roman world (plate 34).¹⁶³ The senate was resistant at first, but rather than discussing the restoration of the republic, they argued instead over who should be *princeps*.¹⁶⁴ When the Praetorian Cohorts rallied around Claudius, the Senate finally relented.¹⁶⁵ As with his predecessor he lacked credibility in the eyes of the senate,

the people and in particular, the army of Rome. The reluctant Emperor Claudius realised he needed to quickly gain their confidence to avoid meeting the same fate as his predecessor. It was to his filial connection with Drusus that he looked to bolster his reputation. His biggest asset was being the son of one of Rome's most respected and loved citizen-commanders of all time. After almost half a century Drusus' reputation was still golden. The previous year the philosopher Seneca had written to a woman who was grieving for the loss of her son. Writing around 40 CE, he compared her situation to that of Livia Drusilla. She too had lost a son, he wrote, but when she had laid the urn containing his ashes in the mausoleum, she set aside her grief. In the essay Seneca remarks that Drusus would have made a great *princeps* having already proved himself a great leader (*dux*).¹⁶⁶ Claudius hoped the halo effect might rub off on his damaged public image.

That connection became his message and he found a quick way to promulgate it through the coinage. It was the mass medium of the time. A series of specially designed coins was minted shortly after Claudius' accession celebrating Drusus' achievements in Germania and Claudius' filial relationship.¹⁶⁷ The coins were minted in all the major denominations – *aurei*, *denarii*, *sestertii*, *dupondii* – to reach the money bags of all segments of the population, most importantly the army. On the reverse side under the slogan DE GERMANIS, 'in honour of Germania', some coins showed war spoils (plate 35), others the triumphal arch of Drusus (plate 36–39). On the obverse a finely detailed side-profile portrait of the youthful commander wearing the victor's laurels was surrounded by his full name and honours, NERO CLAVDIVS DRVSVS GERMANICVS IMP[ERATOR]. Only on the lower denomination *sestertii* did Claudius show his own portrait and his name TI[BERIVS] CLAVDIVS NERO and many official titles, including the important *imperator*. The distinct haircut, the thick neck and prominent nose all declared him to be of the same blood as Drusus (plate 38). It was a shrewd and calculated move and gradually the public warmed to their eccentric ruler.

Claudius was known as a competent writer of history. He wrote a history of his own life in eight books "full of absurdities, but in no bad style" that surely contained anecdotes about his father.¹⁶⁸ He also wrote a book of history presumably down to the time of his writing and starting with the end of the civil wars, but it attracted the censure of his grandfather and grandmother and feeling himself unable to write frankly and

truthfully it is unclear if he finished it.¹⁶⁹ That would also certainly have described the exploits of Drusus the Elder. If he wrote a book exclusively about his father, it is not mentioned anywhere.

At about the same time in Germania, Pliny the Elder was embarking on a career in the military. His tour of duty included a term as *praefectus equitum*.¹⁷⁰ He discovered his passion for writing and published *On Cavalry Javelin Exercise In One Book*, a how-to manual for riders looking to raise their kill ratio. His nephew recorded the extraordinary story of how he came to write his third work, *The German Wars In Twenty Books* (*Bella Germaniae Libri Viginti*):

in which he collected all the wars we have waged with the Germans. This he commenced during a campaign in Germania, by admonition of a dream. During his sleep there stood by him the form of Drusus Nero (who, after triumphing far and wide, died in their country), commended his memory to my uncle, and entreating the latter to rescue him from unmerited oblivion.¹⁷¹

Was it just a nightmare or had Pliny suffered a bout of sleep paralysis – or was it a shrewd marketing story created by him? Whatever the truth of the story, with the emperor keen to promote his association with Drusus, Pliny's timing could not have been better and his book would have found a ready audience. Sadly not a single volume of it survives. However it was a source used by Tacitus in his works, substantial parts of which have come down to us.¹⁷²

Claudius was planning a display of bravura even his father would be proud of.¹⁷³ In 43 CE A. Plautius and Gn. Sentius Saturninus landed an expeditionary force on the southern coast of Britannia.¹⁷⁴ If Germania was considered remote to the Romans, Britannia was positively on the edge of the world. With a keen eye to its propaganda value, Claudius set off himself to take part in the invasion. On the outbound route he chose to sail from Ostia to Massilia and nearly came to grief off the Ligurian coast on account of two storms.¹⁷⁵ Having reached the port, he travelled overland via Lugdunum to Gesoriacum. Then crossing the Mare Germanicum (English Channel) he landed safely on the island. Plautius was there to greet him and escort him to Camulodunum, the *oppidum* of the Cautuvellauni nation, where in a triumphal procession, which included elephants, he accepted the surrender of several British chieftains.¹⁷⁶ Meanwhile in the south of the island, the legate of *Legio II Augusta*, T. Flavius Vespasianus, was laying siege to hill-forts of the Belgae and Durotriges nations.¹⁷⁷ After a brief sojourn

Claudius returned to the mainland, mission accomplished. Taking the military road along the Rhine, he would have been able to visit each of the fortresses his father had established in turn and to speak with the commanders of the three replacement legions that had moved there following the deployment of the original garrisons to Britannia. *En route* he most likely stopped at Mogontiacum in time to attend the fifty-second annual festival and race held in honour of his father at the great *tumulus*.¹⁷⁸ From Augusta Vindelicorum, the *colonia* founded by Drusus fifty-eight years before, he traced the route in reverse which his father had taken during the Alpine and Norican Wars.¹⁷⁹ Winding through the Reschen Pass of the Alps, he crossed the bridge named after his father that had lent its name to a town, Pons Drusi, and then went on to Tridentum, where his father had first engaged the Raeti. In celebrating his victory on arriving at the port of Vaternus on the Adriatic Sea he took a lavishly equipped ship that was considered so large that calling it a palace would have been a better description, remarked Pliny the Elder.¹⁸⁰ The entire trip took just six months.¹⁸¹ It had been a homage to his father, but it was also Claudius' moment to establish his own profile independent of him.¹⁸² Claudius was awarded the title *imperator*, the honorary title *Britannicus*, a triumph and an arch.¹⁸³ A new series of coins now entered circulation. Golden *aurei* and silver *denarii* proudly showed his portrait on the obverse with his name and titles, and on the reverse his triumphal arch.¹⁸⁴ The arch shown on the coin bore the inscription DE BRITANN[IS], 'in honour of Britannia'. The design of the coin exactly matched the earlier issue of Drusus the Elder. With his conquest, titles and trophies, he was now at least the equal of his father and able to stand on his own merits. The rise in personal prestige is reflected in the so-called Volubilis inscription carved in 44 CE in which Claudius is referred to as 'son of the deified' rather than the more prosaic 'son of Drusus'.¹⁸⁵ Yet he did not forget his father. In 46 CE he commissioned the upgrading of the transalpine road, giving it the official name *via Claudia Augusta*.¹⁸⁶ At regular intervals, milestones declared it to be "the route of which his father Drusus had opened up across the Alps through war".¹⁸⁷ It was the shortest route from Italia to the Rhine-Danube frontier and along it Rome's administrators, couriers, soldiers and traders travelled for as long as the empire endured.

Claudius was less successful in love than his father.¹⁸⁸ His first marriage had been an embarrassment but by her he had two children, one daughter named Claudia and a son, named after

Nero Claudius Drusus.¹⁸⁹ Young Drusus was betrothed to the daughter of Seianus but died in Pompeii “he being choked with a pear, which in his play he tossed into the air, and caught in his mouth”.¹⁹⁰ In his second marriage to Valeria Messalina he found a woman he truly loved. With her he fathered Ti. Claudius Germanicus to whom he gave his honorary name Britannicus and upon whom he doted, commending him to the soldiers and “holding him in his arms before their ranks”.¹⁹¹ Alas, Messalina did not love her husband with equal passion. When a plot hatched by her and her lover G. Silius to overthrow Claudius was discovered, they were summarily executed. By direct association with his mother, Britannicus became something of a liability to his father. Through his third marriage to Iulia Agrippina (the great-granddaughter of Augustus, Stemma Drusorum no. 20) Claudius adopted her son, an older boy, named L. Domitius Ahenobarbus.¹⁹² Assuming the new name Nero Claudius Caesar Drusus Germanicus in honour of his illustrious father, he was made joint heir with Britannicus, just as Augustus had done with Caius and Lucius. They quickly became rivals and the focus of factions within the palace. When Claudius died in 54 CE, it was Nero as the older surviving relative who succeeded him at the age of 16.¹⁹³ The following year Britannicus died, probably by poison, just one day before his fourteenth birthday and the occasion of his assuming the *toga pura*. His sister Octavia died seven years later. Nero’s fourteen-year reign ended in ignimony in which the emperor was declared a public enemy.¹⁹⁴ He took his own life on 9 June 68 CE. He was the last ruler to bear the proud name of Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus.

After Nero’s suicide four contenders feuded for the throne in the year 69 CE.¹⁹⁵ It was T. Flavius Vespasianus, the former legate who had subdued Hod Hill and Maiden Castle as part of Claudius’ expeditionary force to Britannia, who survived to establish a new dynasty. He sought to break with the excesses and wickedness of Nero, but to maintain continuity with the best of Augustus’ lineage, among whom he considered Claudius one. His son had been an intimate friend to Titus, Vespasianus’ own son. Titus claimed that he had been there with Britannicus at the moment he swallowed the poison, even claiming he had tasted the dose himself and fallen ill on account of it.¹⁹⁶ When Titus succeeded his father in 79 CE, he remembered his childhood friend fondly. He erected a gilt-bronze statue of him and another equestrian statue of ivory, which was still carried in procession at the Circus Maximus at the time Suetonius was writing *Lives of*

the Caesars.¹⁹⁷ Titus even minted a special ‘restoration issue’ *sestertius* celebrating his memory as one of the good *Claudii Neronēs*.¹⁹⁸

The life and exploits of Drusus the Elder were frequently mentioned in the narrative histories of Rome: in the first century by Pliny the Elder, Valerius Maximus and Velleius Paterculus; in the second by Florus, Suetonius and Tacitus; in the third by Cassius Dio; in the fourth by Eutropius, and in the sixth by Cassiodorus. Most of these historians drew heavily on the great history of Rome, *Ab Urbe Condita*, by Livy who was a contemporary of Drusus. In Books 138 through 142 Drusus’ wars were recounted but tragically they survive only as tantalizing single-sentence summaries. With each retelling of Rome’s sweeping history the accounts of the commander’s life, however, became progressively selective and diluted until they were little more than trite anecdotes.

In the lands with a direct connection to Drusus, however, his memory flourished. The annual festival honouring Drusus at Mogontiacum became an important fixture in the calendar of the military base, whose civilian settlement outside grew substantially on the back of it (map 12). A theatre was built some 340 metres (1,115.5 feet) down the hill from the cenotaph, which seems to have been an intrinsic part of the burgeoning Drusus cult.¹⁹⁹ It was rediscovered in 1884 and has been excavated over the years since. Today it abuts the southern railway station, which has been appropriately renamed Bahnhof Mainz Römisches Theater. Visitors can marvel at the foundations of the theatre’s 116 metre (380.7 feet) wide seating area (*cavea*) and 42 metre (137.8 feet) wide stage, which was the largest of any Roman theatre built north of the Alps – bigger even than the better known theatres in Arausio (Orange) and Arelate (Arles) in Gallia Narbonensis.²⁰⁰ A fragment of a brick bearing the stamp of *legio* XXII found at the site suggests the building was still in use well into the fourth century under Constantine (308–310 CE) or Julian (355–360 CE) – and after Christianity had gained acceptance.²⁰¹



Figure 8: 'Der Aichelstein' by Matthäus Merian der Ältere in

With the fall of the Roman Empire in the west the memory of Drusus the Elder faded. His triumphal arch in Rome crumbled and its brick and marble were robbed until all trace of it vanished completely. Memory of an arch dedicated to Drusus survived, however, and another structure – part of the Aqua Antoniana aqueduct – was wrongly attributed to the stepson of Augustus. The name, nevertheless, stuck. Across the Rhine a new Holy Roman Empire now held sway. Drusus' *tumulus* monument in Mainz, stripped of its finished stone or marble exterior, became a defensive watchtower in mediaeval times close to the Benedictine Abbey of St Alban. The ruins of the cenotaph and the nearby theatre were used by the burghers of fifteenth century Mainz in dealing with their overbearing archbishop to remind him of the antiquity of their privileges and municipal liberties stretching back to the founder of their city, Nero Claudius Drusus.²⁰² In 1520, and again in the edition of 1525, Johann Huttich included the Drususstein/Eichelstein in his *Collectanea Antiquitatum* of ancient Roman remains in the region.²⁰³ The Swiss engraver Matthäus Merian der Ältere (1593–1650) was captivated by the noble but teetering ruin and featured 'Der Aichelstein' (fig. 8) as one of the 40 copper plates and 3 maps in his *Topographia Archiepiscopatum Moguntinensis, Trevirensis et Coloniensis* of 1646. In 1655 Prince-electors Johann Philipp von Schönbrunn surrounded the city of Mainz with defences and the French-style quadrangular Zitadelle was constructed which encompassed the tower but left it untouched. In his scholarly *Der Eichelstein: das ist Neronis Claudii Drusi monumentum* of 1697 Christian Gotthülff Blumberg (1664–1735) quaintly, but quite wrongly, imagined the ruined monument in its heyday as a pyramid.²⁰⁴ Inspired by the antiquarian Pater Joseph Fuchs and praised by the poet Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Johann Friedrich Franz Lehne (1771–1836) presented a more convincing reconstruction of the appearance of the *tumulus* (as a tower with a square base, cylindrical middle section and domed top that is still accepted today) in his groundbreaking *Comparaison du plan de l'ancien Mogontiacum avec la situation actuelle de la ville de Mayence* of 1809 (fig. 9).²⁰⁵ The ruined monument (plate 40) still stands in the Zitadelle as part of the Jakobsberg ensemble of historic buildings and in its quiet grassy, tree lined grounds visitors can enjoy a moment of solitude and introspection.



Figure 9: Johann Friedrich Franz Lehne's *Comparaison du plan de l'ancien Mogontiacum avec la situation actuelle de la ville de Mayence* of 1809, published 1836-1839, was an early attempt to 'scientifically' document the location of Roman ruins. The 'Monumentum Drusi' is shown in the lower right hand corner beside the fortress wall.

In the east, shaken by an earthquake, the Drusion tower at Caesarea Maritima fell into the sea to be washed away by the unyielding tides. The whims of Fortune determined that the books of Augustus and Pliny the Elder, which most fully detailed his life, turned to dust or were consumed by flames. From 1453, the other general histories that survived – preserved in collections in Constantinople or by monks under its sway – became more widely available to inspire a new age of learning, spurred on by the invention of the printing press. Thus in the sixteenth century Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592) drew on Maximus to recount in one of his literary essays the story of Tiberius’ epic journey to be with his brother as he lay dying.²⁰⁶ Yet while in the succeeding four centuries interest in the Roman Empire only increased, Drusus’ contribution was largely overlooked by the wider story of conquest and loss. He is not mentioned, for instance, in the epic and influential *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* by Edward Gibbon, which first appeared in 1776, because his survey started with the Antonine emperors. Young men of means seeking enlightenment and education endured grand tours of Europe while collectors, enticed by the recently discovered ruins of Pompeii, went out in search of art to grace their own classically inspired stately homes. Many of these travellers brought back statue busts, among which were those of Drusus that had once adorned public buildings and about whom their purchasers knew little.

Meanwhile the fortresses founded by Drusus and their civilian settlements had morphed into prosperous industrial, trading and religious centres on the Rhine. The dedicated monks of the Church of Rome had for centuries preserved the memory of the classical past. To one of Cologne’s alleyways running by the gate of the cloister of the mendicant order of Minoriten or *Fratres minores* (‘Lesser Brothers’ or ‘Black Franciscans’), which was built around the year 1242, the mediaeval burghers gave the name *Drususgasse*.²⁰⁷ In the two centuries that followed the German-speaking peoples rediscovered their ancient past. The trigger was the publication of Tacitus’ *Germania* in Venice in 1470, and its translation into German 26 years later, which revealed that ancient Germany had not been a surly subject of the Roman Empire but proudly independent.²⁰⁸ In 1492 the Holy Roman Empire’s poet laureate Conrad Celtis spoke emotively and appealed to his countrymen’s ancient spirit of independence and strength that had once terrified the Romans.²⁰⁹ In 1517 reformer Martin Luther (1483–1546) evoked the name of Arminius, calling him by the less Latin-sounding

Hermann, and co-opting him in his protest against the hegemony of the Church of Rome.²¹⁰ Recalling from the mists of time the valiant struggles of the ancient Germanic heroes against the legions of Rome fed into a deep vein of frustration at Roman Catholicism, Luther roused his listeners and finally succeeded in establishing the Protestant movement. This success also inspired a new sense of German nationalism and in the years that followed, the Holy Roman Empire broke apart becoming Austria, The Netherlands, The Swiss Confederation, numerous small German kingdoms and electorates, and the Duchy of Prussia.²¹¹ The German-speaking people then fell under the control of Napoléon Bonaparte's France in 1804 and the Rhineland suffered a brutal occupation.²¹² When the French army left a decade later, the Prussians took over but their rule was almost as humiliating – yet forged out of a common anti-French sentiment the sense of German national identity continued to grow.²¹³

In this context with its heightened but politically motivated curiosity about the distant past, Heinrich Luden (1778–1847) of Jena began work on his monumental history of the German-speaking people. Dedicated to the eccentric and avowed philhellene Ludwig I, King of Bavaria, the first volume of *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes* appeared in bookshops from October 1825. In Luden's account broadly all things Germanic were deemed good, all things Roman, bad. Luden cast Nero Claudius Drusus as the arch-villain in discussing Rome's wars of conquest. In his view, Drusus the Elder had duped the Batavi and Cananefates, waged a bloody war on the Germanic nations in which he threatened and rained down destruction on the local tribespeople, and made grave errors that would have lasting consequences.²¹⁴



Figure 10: Nero Claudius Drusus as envisaged by Dr August Benedict Wilhelm in *Die Feldzüge des Nero Claudius Drusus in nördlichen Deutschland*, May 1826 – a hero for uncertain times.

A day's ride away in Kloster Rossleben, Saxony, Dr August Benedict Wilhelm did not much like what he read. Eighteen months earlier he had been commissioned by the Geographical Society of Paris to prepare a study of Germania and its peoples and he felt a new urgency to complete his short volume. In under eight months, he published *Die Feldzüge des Nero Claudius Drusus in nördlichen Deutschland*, a detailed account of Drusus' wars in northern Germany. In his foreword he explained that he wrote the book to "defend his hero" (fig. 10) against several contemporary adversaries – singling out Luden in particular – who were seeking to use the ancient past to develop a national German consciousness, but twisting history in the retelling of it.²¹⁵ He drew from the same Latin and Greek authors, meticulously acknowledging his sources, yet tried to strike a fairer balance in telling the story. The essential truth of human nature should be seen, he argued, despite the "superfluous ornaments" applied by other authors to disguise it. Quite deliberately he quoted the author of the *Consolatio ad Liviam*:

The hero's deeds and hard-won fame shall live;

They can alone the funeral pyres survive.²¹⁶

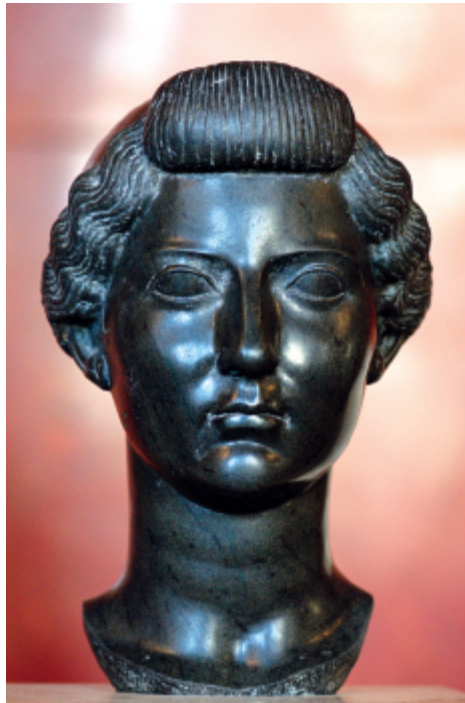
Eighteen hundred years after his death, Drusus was still being used as a political pawn.

A loose German Federation of smaller independent nation states – 38 in all – was founded but now dominated by Prussia and Austria.²¹⁷ In 1871, amidst the smoke and flames of the Franco-Prussian War, the *Deutsches Reich* or *Kaiserreich* was forged – ironically echoing the *cognomen* of the Roman general who had first stepped on to the right bank of the Rhine.²¹⁸ A new generation of scholars, notably Theodor Mommsen (1817–1903), sought to understand contemporary Europe through the complex story of its Roman origins even as the new German Empire led by Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898) promoted the region's agricultural, industrial and political interests and with it widening inequality and pressures for expansion and empire.²¹⁹ It ended in the bloody mudfilled trenches of Belgium and France in 1918.²²⁰ Depression followed and an era of extreme nationalism embodied in Adolf Hitler (1889–1945) who sought to establish a land expanded by conquest and whose leading architect designed bombastic buildings inspired by the monuments of the Caesars to fill the capital city of the country to be renamed *Germania*.²²¹ Instead the cruel ambition of the *Führer* brought the country to its utter destruction during the

cataclysmic war of 1939–1945, splitting asunder its east and west halves for two generations. Chastened, but reborn as a democracy, West Germany looked steadfastly to the future and determined to become a founding member of the European Economic Community, bound, with some irony, under Treaties of Rome, that later became the European Union. After the two Germanies were reunited in 1990, the nation looked once again to its past for reassurance and a sense of continuity and longevity. Several of Germany's cities celebrated their foundation by the Romans, promoted by the issue of special '2000 Jahre' stamps by Deutsche Bundespost. The stamp for Mainz (plate 41) prominently featured the Drususstein in a bucolic setting presented as a woodcut engraving mimicking the style of a Mediaeval print.²²² Special stamps followed for Neuss and Trier in 1984, Augsburg in 1985, Bonn in 1989, Speyer in 1990 and Koblenz in 1992. While the cities expanded over the years of the *wirtschaftliche Wunder* of the later twentieth century, many German town planners chose to commemorate their country's association with the young Roman prince by naming streets after him – which is how many towns acquired their *Drususstraßen*.



Augustus, Drusus the Elder's stepfather, was 'first man' of Rome. He reinvented his own family, transformed Roman political society and had ambitions for the empire that included Germania Magna.



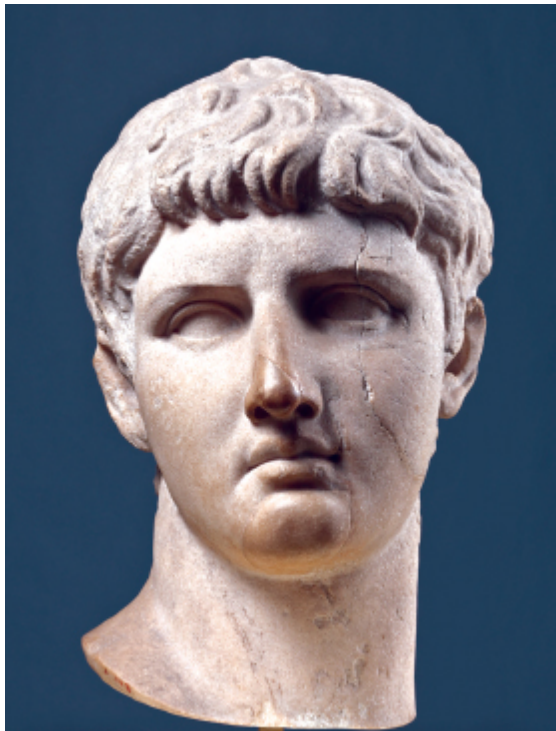
Livia Drusilla divorced her husband Ti. Claudius Nero to marry Augustus, a marriage that lasted 52 years. Nevertheless, she was a devoted mother to her sons by her former husband, Tiberius and Nero (Drusus the Elder).



Tiberius, Drusus' elder brother, had a reputation for being intense, boorish and a stern disciplinarian, but was a military leader of considerable talent.



4. Drusus as a teenager with his head covered by his toga during a religious rite. He was devoted to traditional Roman customs his entire life.



5. Drusus in his twenties was considered handsome, charming and good-natured in his lifetime.



6. Antonia Minor, beautiful daughter of M. Antonius, portrayed as Hera. Wife of Drusus the Elder, she never remarried.



7. The only portrait of Drusus known to have been carved in his lifetime appears on the Ara Pacis in Rome.



8. The *centuria*, led by the *centurio*, aided by his *optio*, was the basic combat unit of the Roman army. Other officers relayed commands by music and motions of a *signum* or *vexillum* standard.



9. *Legionarius* of the late 1st Century BCE 10. Scale armour offered better protection in Coolus-type helmet and chain mail shirt than chain mail and was often worn by with oval shield and unsheathed *gladius* middle-ranking officers, musicians and ready for action. standard bearers.



10. Scale armour offered better protection than chain mail and was often worn by middle-ranking officers, musicians and standard bearers.



11. On the march, legionaries carried personal effects, tools and weapons over the shoulder, earning them the nickname 'Marius' mules'.



12. Entering into service during Drusus' campaigns 13. High-ranking Roman officers wore the new articulated plate armour, worn here could afford muscle cuirasses. Over with a Gallic inspired iron helmet. The rectangular his Drusus wore the *paludamentum* shield gradually replaced the older oval design. of a commander-in-chief.



13. High-ranking Roman officers could afford muscle cuirasses. Over his Drusus wore the *paludamentum* of a commander-in-chief.



14. Iron Age Celtic warriors' protective equipment varied according to social class. One here wears a chain mail shirt, the other just a tunic.



15. Celtic armourers had considerable skill and crafted weapons of great beauty as well as practicality that often inspired Roman imitations.



16. Lightly armed Germanic warriors, often equipped only with *framea* and shield, could still inflict damage on heavily armoured Roman troops by using agility, surprise, terrain and numbers.



17. The quickest and safest route to Gallia Comata meant crossing over the Alps by way of Val di Susa controlled by King Cottius, a trusted ally of the Romans.



18. The Raeti engaged Drusus' army in 15BCE at Tridentum (modern Trento), the city surrounded by three mountains in the Adige River valley.



19. Drusus' army marched out of the Alps along the Licus (Lech River) into the Voralpenland *en route* to the Danuvius (Danube River).



20. Virunum at Magdalensburg was the seat of the kings of Noricum who became wealthy from the natural resources of the region, including high quality iron (*ferrum Noricum*).



21. The *Praetorium* in Lugdunum provided accommodation for Drusus and his family while he was governor of Tres Galliae. The Odeon below staged live music, pantomime and drama.



22. Coin minted in 15BCE celebrates the victories of Drusus and Tiberius in Raetia, Vindelicium and Noricum. They offer laurel branches to Augustus seated on a curule chair.



23. The federal sanctuary and altar of Roma and Augustus was a key innovation of Drusus' nation-building policy for the sixty tribes of Tres Galliae, and was depicted on widely circulated low-denomination coins.



24. Drusus' amphibious invasion of Germania in 12BCE required a wide variety of sea-worthy vessels, similar to the ones used in Trajan's Dacian Wars, to carry men and matériel.



25. Drusus navigated rivers to penetrate deep into Germania using fast, manoeuvrable troop transports such as this reconstruction based on remains found at Oberstimm.



26. According to Pliny the Elder, invading Roman troops feared the Frisian coast because they could not tell land from sea.



27. Roman propaganda on a coin minted in 12BCE in celebration of Drusus' first campaign victories depicts a cowering Germanic warrior offering up a flag or standard.



28. The Lupia (Lippe River) carried Roman troops into central Germania during the second year of campaigning, 11BCE.



29. Reaching the Albis (Elbe River) in 9BCE marked the turning point for Drusus' wars of conquest in Germania Magna



30. The Romans' return from the Albis to Mogontiacum in the late summer of 9BCE was made difficult by Germania's many rivers, forests and bogs.



To console Livia, the senate ordered statues be made of Drusus and displayed throughout the empire.



Drusus' eldest son adopted his father's honorary name, 'Germanicus', and followed closely in his footsteps.



Drusus' youngest son Claudius unexpectedly became emperor in 41CE and honoured his father's name and golden reputation to bolster his own poor public image.



34. The last man to win the *spolia opima* was M. Claudius Marcellus in 222BCE. His story of derring-do inspired Drusus the Elder in his own quest.



35. Claudius minted coins celebrating his filial connection to Drusus and his father's victories in Germania Magna in the hope of raising his own public standing.



36. Portrait of Drusus on this *sestertius* shows the characteristic profile and hair-style of the man, along with his full name and titles. On the reverse his son Claudius sits on a curule chair among war spoils from Germania.



37. Drusus' triumphal arch and the message DE GERMANIS was a recurring theme on Claudius' early coinage minted 41–43CE.



38. The engraver of this *denarius* die reproduced different features in the arch of Drusus.



39. This *dupondius* of Claudius shows the most complete architectural detail of the Arch of Drusus.



40. The troops of Drusus' Rhine army erected their own tribute to the man they acclaimed *imperator*, which still stands as the 'Drussustein' in Mainz.



41. The Deutsche Bundespost marked the 2,000 years from the foundation of Mainz with a stamp featuring a rustic-style woodcut inspired by Matthäus Merian the Elder's 'Aichelstein'.



42. Scene on the so-called 'Augustus cup' from Boscoreate depicting Drusus presenting barbarian people to the *princeps*. Sadly this side of the cup has been irretrievably damaged.

Chapter 8

Assessment

Nero Claudius Drusus lived an exemplary Roman life, the sort that boys of the time dreamed of living. He was a rôle model (*exemplum*) that even Augustus desired his adopted sons should emulate. Of the man, it may be said he lived by a set of principles that extolled the traditional Roman virtues of personal courage and hard work, fair dealing and respect for liberty. For this he was respected by his peers. He was affable, charming and good-natured and for this he was universally liked. He was a ‘man’s man’ and there is no evidence that he was bi- or homosexual. He married well and fathered at least three children, two of whom were destined to become high achievers in their own right. Drusus and Antonia Minor appear to have enjoyed a deep and loving relationship. Drusus’ sexual fidelity to Antonia during his life was only exceeded by his wife’s: she never married again after he died, preferring to remain a ‘one man woman’ (*univira*) and be known as “the wife of Drusus” for the next forty-six years of her life.¹ In a society where divorce and repeat marriages were common, Antonia’s devotion to his memory is striking and it says something of the unblemished reputation of the man.

Of his politics it might be said that Drusus aspired to see the restoration of the institutions of the old republic, but he was nevertheless loyal to the prevailing régime. Augustus was the autocratic head of state, but he was also his stepfather. It would have been difficult to dissent publicly when he was expected to show filial respect and official deference. Drusus was certainly in a privileged position and directly benefited from the *princeps*’ favour but even with the helping hand of Augustus, he still had to work his way up the *cursus honorum* and demonstrate his competence in public office, as was also true for Marcellus and Tiberius, before reaching the office of consul. Yet the letter written in Drusus’ own hand addressed to his brother urging the *princeps* to step down suggests he was exploring the possibility of confronting Augustus at some stage over the matter. The revelation of the letter’s contents does not appear to have damaged relations between the two men. Augustus never

formally adopted him – Drusus was, after all, his wife Livia's son – but he still regarded him sufficiently highly that he named him a joint heir with his sons, Gaius and Lucius. The Roman people, however, had seen in Drusus a person who, come the time Augustus passed away or abdicated, could one day restore the democracy of the *res publica* and with it their *libertas*. Even Seneca wrote he would make a “great future *princeps*”.² His tragically premature death meant that dream would never be realised. What if he had not died in that ‘accursed camp’ in Germany, but instead lived on, would Augustus have chosen him as his successor rather than Tiberius? That might have been a real possibility. But would Drusus as *princeps* have followed through in his belief of restoring the Republic? Having studied the man and his nature, my belief is that he would have. He was, after all, a Claudian. And how would the course of Roman history, indeed world history, have changed had that been the case? This is the realm of alternative history, perhaps better left to writers of novels to speculate upon.

He was gifted in his range of talents – the phrase used in the *Tabula Hebana* is *fecundi ingeni* meaning ‘a genius bursting with ideas and deeds’.⁴ In his rôle as governor he showed ability as an administrator. Drusus consolidated and built upon the fragile foundations of Roman civilisation laid down by Agrippa and Augustus in the Tres Galliae. His creation of the *concilium Galliarum* was a masterstroke of nation building. It was a demonstration of what could be achieved by engaging the local aristocracies in Augustus’ vision of a world of diverse peoples living together in a *pax Romana*. Unique among the western provinces, the council fostered a sense of regional identity that went beyond the purely tribal and which had the intended effect of stabilising the sixty Gallic tribes. Gallic aristocrats competed for the honour of being chief priest of the Imperial Cult in Lugdunum and only one attempted rebellion is recorded during the time Drusus was governor. On the whole, the relationship between Drusus and his Gallic subjects was a happy one. His descendants continued their association with the region and ultimately it was Drusus’ son Claudius, himself born in Lugdunum, when emperor who drove reform of the law to see Gauls finally able to take up seats in the *curia* in Rome.³ The altar in Lugdunum continued in use for centuries.⁵ On account of his careful administration the region would go on to become one of the Empire’s most prosperous and peaceful, and Lugdunum that had been his *propraetorial* base would continue as the leading city in it.

He was a talented military commander – “already a great leader” in Seneca’s words – often showing boldness and valour, and for it he was beloved by his men.⁶ The early nineteenth century military historian and theorist General von Clausewitz identified among the qualities required for successful command the ability to carry out critical analysis and make decisions, and what he termed *der kriegserische Genius* – “the genius for war” – which includes the personality and character to show moral courage, determination, a balanced temperament and an understanding of humanity.⁷ Drusus had each of these qualities in different measures. By the time of his death he had been on active campaign for five years, excluding the two he spent preparing for them, and apparently without defeat. Among his military achievements was the annexation of the Alps and the Voralpenland, which he secured during his first campaign season. The late nineteenth century German historian Theodor Mommsen dismissively described the Raetian/Norican War as a legate’s rather than a general’s war adding that it could not have been a particularly dangerous operation on account of its commander’s youth and inexperience – Augustus would not have put his young stepson in harm’s way if there was a chance he could be killed.⁸ But this underestimates the opponent, mischaracterises the Roman mode of fighting and sells short Drusus’ leadership abilities and his personal courage – *and* Augustus’ judgement. The Raeti and Vindelici were fierce and skilled warriors who put up a stern fight. Like all commanders, Drusus had to rely on his legates to conduct the battle, but as Augustus’ deputy *he* set out the strategy and level of expectation – none more evidently than in the later German War, where meticulous planning preceded the series of annual offensives. In so doing he demonstrated the ability to conduct critical analysis. The Raetian/Norican War was a bloody affair and certainly no hike in the mountains, and during it Drusus showed moral courage and determination in leading his men. When they were finally beaten, the Raeti and Vindelici fared better under Drusus than the Eburones had under Iulius Caesar. Showing his humanity, Drusus did not butcher its population but used a crude form of social engineering to change the balance of power and remove the threat of rebellion by creating army units that leveraged their tactical skills. The region remained peaceful and productive for centuries with enduring benefits for Rome. While Tiberius played a role in that victory, the larger part of the credit goes to Drusus.

Was he a Roman equivalent of Alexander the Great? It is

difficult to make an absolute comparison. Alexander was known, then as now, as a charismatic leader, a hero figure and a paragon of martial brilliance. Yet it might surprise the reader to know that there is not much direct evidence of his existence today except in the form of a few coins, fragmentary inscriptions, and citations in speeches of the period – the biographical accounts of his life actually date to three hundred and more years *after* he died.⁹ So it is with Nero Claudius Drusus.

Yet, based on what is known there are certainly parallels between the two men. Like Alexander, Drusus had charisma, that compelling attractiveness of personality and spirit that inspired devotion in others. Like the young Macedonian, Drusus personally led his forces into battle from the front while in his twenties.¹⁰ He proved as able in the tactical command rôle from his first campaign in Raetia and Vindelicium through to his final battles in Germania Magna. Whereas Alexander's approach to the conquest of Asia was simply one of going ever further east, Drusus' approach to the conquest of Germania Magna was strategic and systematic: first establishing secure supply lines, then exploring and securing the western shores, and finally moving the theatre of war progressively each year through central and eastern Germania, leaving forces in the regions to bring them under Roman control. As Alexander had paid particular attention to logistics and intelligence gathering, so too Drusus used rivers to ferry troops and supplies from the bases he had established along the Rhine and later the Lippe and Wetter, and leveraged alliances with friendly tribes familiar with the territory.¹¹ He had a force half the size of Alexander's, but it was a professional army just the same, skilled in several modes of combat and he knew its officers could be trusted with delegated command authority to carry out his orders.¹² With it Drusus ventured out with this army going further beyond the borders of Roman territory than any before him and bagged victories along the way. It was under Drusus that Roman troops spent their first ever winter in hostile territory among the Chatti, Marsi and Sugambri. Whereas Alexander faced the organized and mighty forces of the Persian Empire and fought set piece battles at Granicus, Issus and Gaugamela that have been recorded and studied, the enemy Drusus faced was more diffuse, the engagements more akin to guerilla warfare – ambushes, such as at Arbalo, and continual hit-and-run skirmishes – the detailed records of which have been lost.¹³ The symmetry of warfare Alexander encountered contrasts with the asymmetry faced by

Drusus. Whereas having defeated Darius the Macedonians could traverse the breadth of the diverse but organised Persian Empire, the Romans faced a myriad of disparate, bickering tribes. Drusus used the entire range of fighting capabilities of his army to reduce his opponents and, like Alexander, he also inspired deep trust and great loyalty in those he commanded.¹⁴ He had earned it by taking them audaciously to the edge of the known world by sea and far into uncharted territory on land, and brought them back home again. When he led his men to the end of a particularly difficult campaign season in 11 BCE they displayed their gratitude and admiration by spontaneously acclaiming him *imperator*. Like Alexander, Drusus was able to keep a level head in a crisis. Faced with rebellion in his Gallic provinces in 12 BCE, he acted swiftly, using guile to uncover its ringleaders and a firm hand to suppress the uprising. When his fleet ran aground off the Frisian coast he sought assistance from his allies and got his men back home. Clearly he was not a quitter. Both men made tactical errors. Though idolised, Alexander was fallible and capable of errors of judgement, such as at the Persian Gates. Similarly closer attention to ground intelligence would have enabled Drusus to anticipate the ambush at Arbalo, but like Alexander a combination of tactical judgment and luck (the change of heart by the Cherusci) enabled him to pull his troops out alive from a potentially disastrous situation.¹⁵ Both men were demanding of those who reported to them, but their temperaments drove them to respond to criticism differently. Drusus certainly pushed the limits of his men, but was smart enough to listen to the counsel of his officers and pull back from the brink, and by doing so he retained the affection and loyalty of both. In contrast, Alexander relentlessly pushed his men and disregarded advice from his peers, as at Hyphasis River where his soldiers adamantly refused to cross and he sulked in his tent for days.¹⁶

Both men died young – Drusus at 29, Alexander at 33 – and unheroically from long, drawn out sickness. When Alexander died in Babylon in 323 BCE his empire broke apart as his generals squabbled over who should have the body, seeing it as a symbol of legitimacy to their claims – Ptolemy stole it and took it to Egypt where three hundred years later Pompeius, Caesar and Augustus visited it in Alexandria. In contrast when Drusus died his men thought they would bury it. Drusus was not, of course, the head of state and the Empire endured. As both *princeps* and his stepfather Augustus insisted the body should return to Rome. Nevertheless, acting out of a genuine sense of affection and seeking to establish a permanent memorial by

which Drusus' name and legacy would live on, the troops erected the *tumulus* at Mogontiacum and instigated an annual race and festival. That festival endured for more than three centuries, attended by people from all over the empire.

Did Drusus' conquests amount to anything? The answer is yes – at least in the short/medium term. In the years immediately after his death, Rome did hold on to his hard-won gains in Germania Magna. Augustus was still in charge and a succession of commanders was dispatched to advance the conquest. In contrast, Alexander left no instructions for what should happen when he died. Following the Macedonian's death his empire immediately shattered among his generals like a *krater* striking a stone floor and resulted in fifty years of bloodshed, leading one author to recently dub him 'Alexander the Great Failure'.¹⁷ When Drusus died many of the allies in the region remained unquestioningly loyal to Rome – even supplying troops for her army for several years after. The conquered Germanic élites even began adjusting to the new *Roman* order of things. Significantly, the sixty nations of the Tres Galliae also stood firm and loyal to Rome, and mourned the loss of their governor. The commanders of the legions and auxiliaries he led also remained loyal. Had he lived to be as old as Alexander, could he have taken Roman arms beyond the Elbe River to the Oder or the Vistula? Probably, but again that is speculation.

And what of that title 'the Great'? Romans were very careful about lauding their heroes. Greatness comes with a price attached, usually at the cost of both great deeds and equally great flaws.¹⁸ Rome's other high achiever, Gn. Pompeius, was actually accorded the honour of using *Magnus* after his name by L. Cornelius Sulla, not the Senate or Roman People. But it was a different age. There could only be one strong man during Drusus' lifetime, and he was Augustus. He would not tolerate rivals and he carefully managed which honours his sons and deputies could garner. The Senate and Augustus did, however, recognise Drusus' achievements by awarding him first an ovation and later a full triumph, and posthumously they voted a honorary name they had coined just for him – Germanicus. He joined an élite group of Roman generals proudly bearing their battle honours as part of their name, including P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus, L. Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus and Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus. Augustus might appear mean when he overruled the Rhine legions' acclamation of Drusus as *imperator* and by taking the title for himself. It was a political calculation, and Augustus was a very shrewd politician. It could

be said, of course, that in death Drusus could no longer be a threat to Augustus, so he could afford to be generous by approving the bespoke *agnomen*. On the contrary, Augustus had much more to gain from exploiting his stepson's achievements while he was still alive. Drusus' deeds reflected well on him. Augustus had affection for, and confidence in, both of his stepsons and he promoted the fact. The frieze on the *Ara Pacis Augustae* and the decoration on the exquisitely crafted Boscoreale Cups graphically "illustrate the strength of Augustan propaganda centered on his stepsons and testify to the real success that the grieving Augustus and Tiberius had in keeping alive the memory of Drusus' exploits".¹⁹ Drusus was a popular Roman hero and both stepfather and brother stood to benefit from promulgating his legend. Drusus' reputation in death, like Alexander's, could still move men, especially those living who had served under him. When the men of the Rhine legions mutinied in 14 CE it was his son, Germanicus accompanied by his wife Agrippina, who went to face them down. The men were complaining about harsh conditions, poor pay and the long years of service they had to endure before being discharged. Germanicus appealed to their feelings of shame for betraying the memory of "father Drusus" as one of the factors to bring the mutineers to heel.²⁰ Thus, a great man does not need the title 'Great' after his name to be recognised as one. If the measure is charismatic leadership, heroic stature and martial brilliance, Drusus goes a long way to qualifying as a Roman Alexander the Great.

The noted historian Ronald Syme correctly observed that scholars have not properly estimated the contributions of Tiberius and Drusus in the years 12–9 BCE.²¹ Some historians have even characterised the campaigns in Germania as little more than 'punitive raids'.²² This assessment is quite wrong. Considered together with the Alpine and Norican Wars, the German Wars shaped Rome's northern frontier strategy and policy for the next quarter century. While Augustus assigned Tiberius the supposedly conquered Balkan provinces and used his talents to quell rebellions there, Drusus was granted the honour of conquering new and uncharted territories. The lands across the Rhine River would forever become the fields of honour on which Drusus and his male descendants would establish their place in Roman military history.²³ The vast investment in military infrastructure and the commitment of such a significant proportion of army resources to the project are eloquent witnesses to a desire at the highest levels for

annexation and assimilation, not punishment. It was Drusus who opened up Germania for exploration and exploitation for the next generation. Directly resulting from Drusus' campaigns the Romans had the best ever ground intelligence of the region. New topographical and ethnographical studies of Germania Magna were henceforth available for other commanders to build their war plans upon. Through his work, Drusus prepared the way for future missions, such as those of Domitius Ahenobarbus who actually crossed the Elbe River. He also built alliances with several nations that laid a path forward for assimilation in the years immediately following his death. By successfully leveraging a strategy, by parts diplomatic and military, he achieved much more than his relatively small fighting force could by violence alone.

The written accounts suggest Drusus was respected even by those he fought and had defeated. As he lay dying even "his very foes had reverently honoured his sick-bed by maintaining peace along with us; nor did they dare to desire what their interests demanded", wrote Seneca.²⁴ Shortly after his death, the subjugation of Germania was deemed sufficiently effective in places that plans were already in hand when Tiberius assumed command of the Rhine legions to begin urban development of the acquired territories. As early as four years after Drusus' death the timber foundations of a fortified market town were being established at Lahnau-Waldgirmes in what had only a decade before been considered hostile territory. When news of Drusus' death spread, several of the Rhineland Germanic peoples saw a chance to oust their invader – *but not all* and it was sufficient deterrent for Tiberius to return with an armed force and to merely raise the threat of violence for the rebel tribes to sue for peace. They had seen enough evidence under Drusus to know the Romans were serious about bringing them under their control. Any further than that goes beyond Drusus' own life story. His successors lacked his deftness of touch, personal charm and charisma. To wit, the failure by men sent to govern the region after his death to understand the fierce streak of independence in the Germanic character led to errors of judgment which fanned the smouldering embers of resentment that would lead to disaster for the Romans at Teutoburg. When the time came to reclaim lost Roman conquests it was again to Drusus that the new commander of the Rhine army looked for guidance. The son and the heir to his hereditary title, Germanicus, followed almost exactly in his father's footsteps, replicating the invasion plans by both land and sea almost to the

last detail. His fleet of ships even became the nucleus of the future *classis Germanica* that patrolled the Rhine as part of the *limes* frontier.²⁵

For hundreds of years, Roman ships sailed down the Rhine into the North Sea by way of the *fossa Drusiana*. Built to carry Drusus' men and arms to a far away battlefield, it now carried trade goods that brought Roman influence to barbarian peoples beyond Rome's sway. Yet Rome's obsession with its northern frontier never waned. Her ambition for absolute control of the right bank of the Rhine was only crimped – in another irony – by his own brother Tiberius. A succession of late first and second century emperors tried their hands at emulating Drusus, including the Flavian Emperor Domitian. Even into the third and fourth centuries Roman troops traipsed deep into Germania Magna in the hope of taming the land and its unruly peoples, but without success. In the end the Germanic peoples came to the Romans – and stayed.

When Tiberius decided to limit and consolidate the frontiers of his *imperium* on the left bank of the Rhine, it was in the centres founded by Drusus that Roman power was invested. He had chosen their locations wisely and as any visitor to the places today will attest “it is surprising what a good eye the Romans had for strategic positions”.²⁶ In time, the civilian *vici* around the military encampments Drusus built along the Rhine from which to launch his invasion routes quickly became the trading and cultural centres of the northern edge of the Empire, surviving into the Middle Ages right down to the present day. The Rhine cities of Nijmegen, Xanten, Neuss, Bonn, Mainz and Strasbourg have become his enduring legacy in bricks and mortar. Tantalisingly in other towns in France, the Rhineland and southern Germany perhaps the imprint of the unit of measurement named after him and used by Roman surveyors, the *pes Drusianus*, can still be traced in the ancient street plans.

It is deeply ironic that the man who would have wanted to see Rome restored to a democratic *res publica* unintentionally established a dynasty that actually *continued* the autocratic principate. Strictly speaking, it was not the bloodline of the *Iulii* which succeeded Augustus (he was adopted into the Julian clan) but that of the *Claudii Neronēs*. After his brother's death, first Caligula, his grandson by Germanicus and then Claudius, his youngest son, ascended the throne of the imperial monarchy. Through marriage to the great-granddaughter of Augustus, Claudius adopted an older boy, Nero, who he made joint heir with his own son Britannicus (just as Augustus had done years

before with Gaius and Lucius). When Claudius died in 54 CE, Nero succeeded him, not Britannicus and his ensuing reign brought the rule of the Julio-Claudians to an end. The imperial autocracy, however, continued.

Drusus' greatest weaknesses were a deeply ingrained drive to win and an unshakeable belief in his own abilities – traits he shared with Alexander and Caesar. It expressed itself in his need to overachieve that sometimes bordered on the reckless, none more so than in his quest for the *spolia opima*. In 12 and 11 BCE he almost led his men to disaster in Germania and he took unnecessary risks with his own life in his pursuit of these prized spoils. That quality, perhaps, even killed him in the end. Yet it would be unfair to say Drusus was vainglorious. He did not have an inordinate pride in his own self-importance or achievements, nor did he display excessive vanity. In Suetonius' phrase, "it is the general belief that he was no less eager for glory than he was for civilian government".²⁷ Like many who carried the Claudian genetic code, he could certainly be stubborn and headstrong. He seems, rather, to have been acutely aware of his place in – perhaps even in awe of – the great family of the Claudians from which he was descended and of his civic duty. If it was a failing at all, he was motivated by a desire to be counted among the best of his lineage and to have enhanced, not diminished, its reputation by his deeds. Drusus eagerly sought out glory and was greedy for praise. For a Roman, regardless of class, it was the approval of one's fellow citizens that was the only measure of value that counted. In that regard, Drusus was remarkably traditional.

As long as a Claudian was in power, the legacy of Drusus lent prestige, even glamour, to the incumbent. Claudius fully exploited his filial connection with Drusus and his right to inherit the honorary title Germanicus to bolster his own weak image in the early part of his reign by using specially minted coins to get the message out to all levels of society. It was only after he had invaded Britain, and received the accolade Britannicus for his victories in that remote island, that he felt he had gained the confidence of his people and could be his own man. Thereafter, Drusus' fame waned. When Flavius Vespasianus beat the last of Nero's successors and installed a new clan on the Palatine in 69 CE Drusus' name was too closely associated with the old regime. Politically the new rulers needed to establish their own credentials that were independent of what went before. They needed their own Flavian heroes. There was little to be gained for them and subsequent rulers by promoting the

name of Drusus and in any case they were not related. He belonged to a different family and to a different age. Add to which, the passing of time has not been kind to Drusus' memory. The biography written by Augustus and the twenty volumes of *The German Wars* composed by Pliny the Elder, which fully told his story, have all since been lost. Even the monuments of brick and marble – the triumphal arch in Rome, the *tumulus* in Mogontiacum, the Drusion tower in Caesarea – have crumbled away. As they turned to dust, memory of Drusus' life and exploits faded under the shadow of men whose life stories and exploits have largely by chance survived more completely in books and edifices down to our own time. Drusus was gradually lost in the footnotes of a bigger story of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. Thus Ann L. Kuttner observed,

the frequent neglect of the brothers' [Drusus and Tiberius] role in the first part of Augustus' reign seems due to the nature of the extant historical sources, and to fashions in modern scholarship. These factors in turn seem conditioned by two historical catastrophes, the untimely death of Drusus in 9 B.C. while campaigning in Germany and Tiberius' self-exile to Rhodes in 4 B.C., an action for which modern and ancient observers alike have no unambiguous explanation, only the record of its primary effects. The result has often been to leave Drusus out of any comprehensive analysis of Augustan dynastic policy, as if his death canceled any prior significance, and to regard Tiberius' ultimate elevation to the throne as an unwelcome act forced on Augustus by the lack of any alternative due to the deaths of his grandsons and adopted sons Gaius and Lucius. This gap in scholarship is just beginning to be filled by a series of recent German investigations interested primarily in Drusus but also in the linked roles of the brothers as a pair; it has yet to be redressed in the English scholarly literature.²⁸

With good reason the ghost of Drusus appeared before Pliny and expressed his fear that the story of his life and achievements would fade into oblivion!

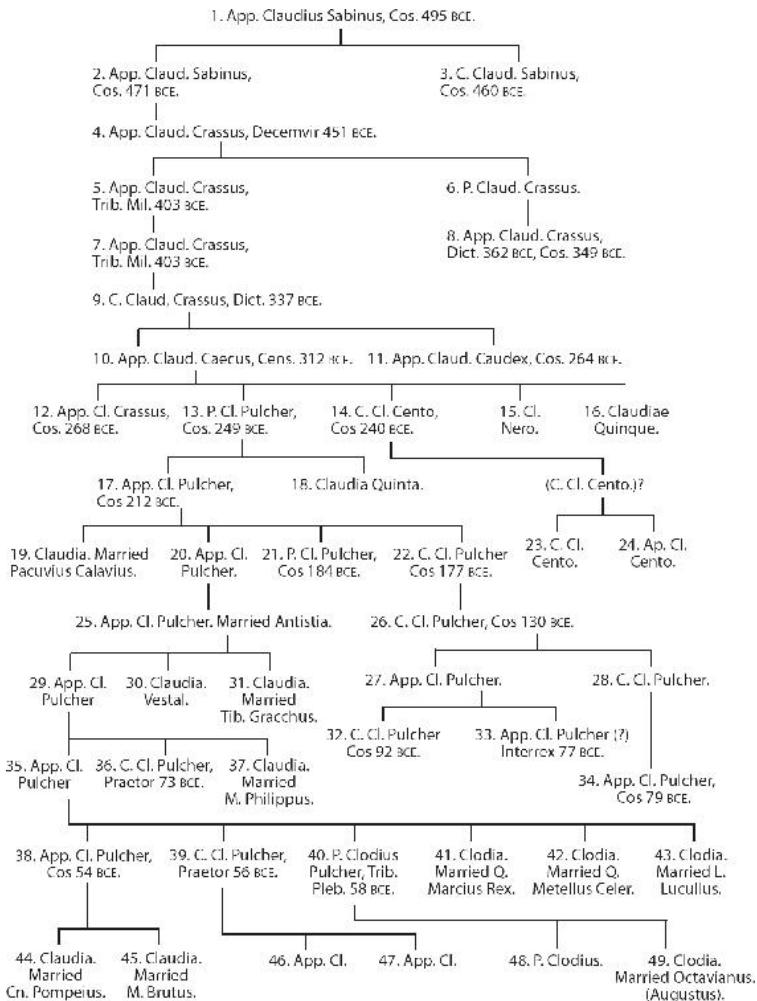
In the ancient accounts, there is a sub-plot to Drusus' life, a narrative of ongoing interactions between the world of the living and that of the gods and spirits of place. The mystical dimension to Drusus' story strikes modern readers as strange. To Roman readers this would be completely normal. His is the story of the man who embodies the traditional *mores* and respects the *mos maiorum*. For most of his young life, Drusus is lucky. Fortune seems to be his protector. He chases the *spolia opima* at great personal risk, but he is never harmed. He erects the altar of Roma and Augustus in Lugdunum and instigates an annual festival. He inaugurates a temple to the cult at Andemantunnum. He is forewarned of trouble before the battle at Arballo, to which he shows the appropriate humility: the Cherusci have a change

of heart and, turning near defeat into victory, he goes on to lead his men safely to camp. However, he becomes increasingly arrogant. It is the trait of all heroes, who come to believe in their own invincibility. Omens and portents foretell of catastrophe and the priests advise Drusus to be careful; but he grows impatient, disregards the warnings, departs anyway and drives deep into Germania. By reaching the Albis, the Roman achieves his mission but he has offended the *genius loci*, the spirit of the place who appears to him as a superhuman Germanic woman. He heeds the warning and decides to abort his quest, but, alas, it is too late. His luck has run out. A price must be paid for *hubris*. His fate is sealed. Strange sights and sounds presage an end to his life. His last act, a demonstration of *pietas*, is to ensure his brother is treated with the dignity due him on his arrival at the ‘Accursed Camp’. Drusus’ spirit passes into the next world with a record as a courageous, honourable and decent man. In an ironic twist, he himself appears as a ghost or a dreamworld figure to Pliny the Elder to plead with him to tell his story. These unusual events may appear to be dramatic devices to good story telling, but the respectful Roman reader knew better than to dismiss them.

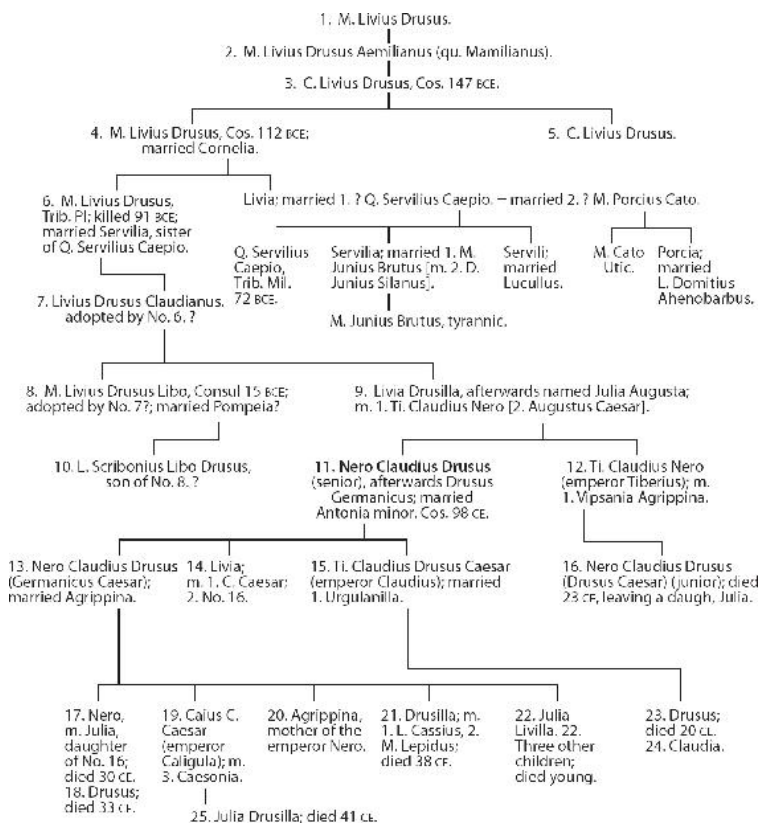
Nero Claudius Drusus, acclaimed in life by his troops as ‘commander’ and honoured in death as ‘conqueror of the Germani’, lived a truly glorious life. In *Eager for Glory*, I hope his story, so often confined to footnotes, has now been restored to prominence and his legacy, for so long overlooked, has been revealed anew. In the words attributed to Pliny the Elder,

True glory consists in doing what deserves to be written, in writing what deserves to be read, and in so living as to make the world happier and better for our living in it.²⁹

Stemma Claudiorum (Father's side)



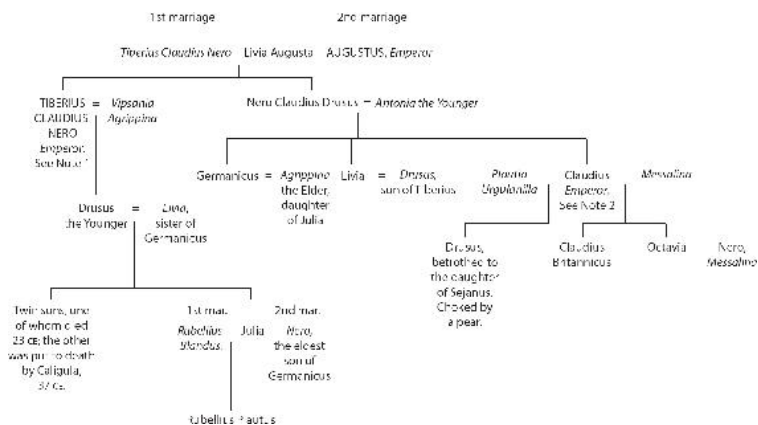
Stemma Drusorum (Mother's side)



Other Drusi:

26. D. Drusus, Consul suffectus 137 BCE. ? (Diq. 1. tit. 13. q- 2.)
 27. C. Drusus, historian. (Suet. *Augustus*, 94.)

The Step-Children of Augustus



Gazeteer

Drusus the Elder travelled widely during his lifetime. The places listed below are some of the most important ones associated with his life and military campaigns, while the museums included here contain items connected with him or the times he lived in.

Austria

Magdalensberg

Archäologischer Park Magdalensberg (Magdalensberg Archaeological Park) A-9064 Pischeldorf

<http://www.landesmuseum-ktn.at/Landesmuseen/Magdalensberg/magdalensfr.html>

Principal city of the Kingdom of Noricum taken by Drusus during the Norican War of 15 BCE.

Via Claudia Augusta

Via Claudia Info, A-6521 Fließ, 89, Austria

<http://www.viac Claudia.org/>

The exact course of the route chosen by Drusus during the Alpine War of 15 BCE is still somewhat conjectural, but the road built by his son, which was supposed to follow it, has largely been identified – with a few educated guesses along specific sections. It now forms a 516 kilometre (320.6 miles) long touristic road connecting Italy to Germany by way of Austria. The route passes through some of Europe's most spectacular valleys and prettiest towns. The two feeder routes begin respectively in Altino and Ostiglia in Italy, converging at Trento. The road then rises up through the Reschen and Fern Passes of the Tyrol in Austria, before descending through the Bavarian Alps to Augsburg, and terminating at Donauwörth in Germany.

Belgium

Brussels/Brussel/Bruxelles

Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, (Royal Museums of Art and History) Parc du Cinquantenaire, 10, 1000 Bruxelles

<http://www.kmkg-mrah.be/>

Remarkable statue bust of Drusus.

Tongeren/Tongres

Gallo Romeins Museum (Gallo-Roman Museum)

Kielenstraat 15, 3700 Tongeren

<http://www.galloromeinsmuseum.be/>

Museum of finds from the Flanders region displayed using state-of-the-art techniques. Short-listed for the prestigious Museums Heritage 2010 Awards – International category.

France

Lyon

Le musée gallo-romain de Lyon-Fourvière (Gallo-Roman Museum)

17 rue Cléberg, 69005 Lyon

<http://www.musees-gallo-romains.com/>

Fine collection of finds from Lugdunum and the sanctuary of the Imperial Cult; and access to the archaeological site including the Praetorium in which Drusus and his family lived while legatus augusti pro praetore of Tres Galliae during the years 14–9 BCE.

Paris

Musée du Louvre

75058 Paris Cedex 01

<http://www.louvre.fr>

Statue busts of Drusus, his mother Livia and stepfather Augustus.

Strasbourg

Musée Archéologique (Archaeological Museum)

Palais Rohan 2, place du Château, 67076 Strasbourg Cedex

<http://www.musees-strasbourg.org/index.php?page=musee-archeologique-en>

Important finds from Argentorate, founded by Drusus in 12 BCE.

Germany

Augsburg

Römisches Museum (Roman Museum)

Dominikanergasse 15, 86150 Augsburg

<http://www.kunstsammlungen-museen.augsburg.de/index.php?id=19767> [URL inactive]

Finds from the city of Augusta Vindelicorum founded by Drusus in 15 BCE.

Bergkamen-Oberaden

Stadtmuseum Bergkamen (Bergkamen City Museum)

Städtische Galerie “sohle 1” Jahnstraße 31, Museumsplatz, 59192 Bergkamen-Oberaden

<http://www.stadtmuseum-bergkamen.de/>

Das_Roemerlager_Oberaden.htm [URL inactive]

Museum displays finds from excavations from the Oberaden fortress founded by Drusus in 11 BCE.

Emden

Ems Radweg (Ems Cycle Route)

Emsland Touristik GmbH, Ordeniederung 1, 49719 Meppen
Münsterland Touristik Grünes Band e.V., An der Hohen Schule 13,
48565 Steinfurt

<http://www.emsradwed.de>

A well-signposted bike trail follows the course of the Ems River along which Drusus conducted his amphibious campaign of 12 BCE. The 375 kilometre (233.0 mile) long ride starts in Emden and ends in Paderborn, or vice versa, passing the location of Drusus' river battle against the Bructeri as well as the Teutoburg Forest.

Haltern am See

Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe-Römermuseum (Roman Museum)

Weseler Straße 100, 45721 Haltern am See

<http://www.lwl-roemermuseum-haltern.de/>

Fine collection of Roman finds from excavations on site. Excellent calendar of special exhibitions and events, including Roman period re-enactors and military displays.

Hedemünden

Römerlager bei Hedemünden (Roman Camp at Hedemünden)

Touristik Naturpark Münden e. V., 34346 Hann. Münden/
Hedemünden

<http://www.grote-archaeologie.de/roemer.html>

<http://www.goettingerland.de/roemerlager/>

Roman camp likely founded by Drusus on the Werra in 10/9 BCE in a park located 1.5 kilometres (1 mile) west of modern Hedemünden.

Köln (Cologne)

Römisch-Germanisches Museum (Romano-Germanic Museum)

Roncagliplatz 4, 50667 Köln

<http://www.museenkoeln.de/roemisch-germanisches-museum/>

World-renowned museum displays spectacular finds from the city dating from its foundation as Oppidum Ubiorum to its later flourishing as the administrative capital of Germania Inferior under the name Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium.

Mainz

Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum (Romano-Germanic Museum)

Ernst-Ludwig-Platz 2, 55116 Mainz

<http://web.rgzm.de/>

Collection of finds from the fortress of Mogontiacum founded by Drusus and later city, including the outstanding remains and reconstructions of third and fourth century ships of types likely used by Drusus to sail the western shore and rivers of Germania.

Römisches Bühnentheater in Mainz (Roman Theatre)

Zitadellenweg, 55131 Mainz

<http://www.theatrum-mainz.de/>

Remains of the great theatre probably associated with the annual Drusus festival, located at Bahnhof Mainz Römisches Bühnentheater. The largest Roman theatre north of the Alps.

Zitadelle auf dem Jokobsberg (Fortified Citadel on Jokobsberg Hill)

Gerhart-Hauptmann-Straße 30, 55124 Mainz-Gonsenheim

<http://www.zitadelle-mainz.de/>

<http://www.roemisches-mainz.de/>

Remains of the cenotaph (Drususstein/Eichelstein) erected by the legions to honour Drusus. The tallest Roman memorial north of the Alps.

München/Munich

Archäologische Staatssammlung (Bavarian State Archaeological Collection)

Lerchenfeldstraße 2, 80538 München

<http://www.archaeologie-bayern.de/>

Catapult bolt of Legio XIX from Oberammergau and items from Raetia and Noricum.

Neuss

Clemens-Sels-Museum Am Obertor, 41460 Neuss

<http://www.clemens-sels-museum-neuss.de/>

Archaeology gallery displays finds from Novaesium.

Speyer

Historisches Museum der Pfalz (Museum of Pfalz Region History)

Domplatz 4, 67346 Speyer

<http://www.museum.speyer.de/>

Archaeology gallery displays finds from Speyer.

Xanten

Landschaftsverband Rheinland-Römer Museum (Museum of Roman Collections)

Siegfriedstraße 39, 46509 Xanten

<http://www.apx.de/>

A spectacular museum set among reconstructed buildings of the later city near the original fortress of Vetera founded by Drusus.

Römer Route (Roman Bike Trail)

Münsterland e.V., Hüttruper Heide 71–81, 48268 Greven

<http://www.roemerroute.de>

A well-signposted bike trail follows the course of the Lippe River along the route of Drusus' Lupia campaign of 11 BCE. The 315 kilometre (195.7 mile) long ride starts in Xanten and ends in Detmold, or vice versa, passing through Bergkamen-Oberaden and Haltern am See.

Italy

Bolzano

Museo archeologico dell'Alto Adige (South Tyrol Museum of Archaeology)

Via Museo 43, 39100 Bolzano

<http://www.archaeologiemuseum.it/>

One of only two surviving milestones of the via Claudia Augusta, as well as items from local Raetian culture.

Naples

Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (Naples Archaeological Museum)

Piazza Museo, 19 Napoli

<http://www.marketplace.it/museo.nazionale/> [URL inactive]

Bronze bust of Drusus.

Rome

Museo dell'Ara Pacis (Ara Pacis Museum)

Lungotevere in Augusta, 00100 Roma, RM

<http://www.arapacis.it/>

The Altar of Peace, the epitome of high Augustan art, shows the only portrait known to have been made of Drusus during his lifetime.

La Casa di Augusto sul Palatino (House of Augustus on the Palatine Hill)

Via dei Fori Imperiali All'interno dell'area archeologica del Palatino-Foro Romano Roma, RM

http://archeoroma.beniculturali.it/it/luoghi/aree_monumenti/palatino/casa_augusto [URL inactive]

Remains of the House of Augustus in which Drusus grew up as a boy.

Netherlands

Nijmegen

Museum Het Valkhof (Valkhof Museum)

Kelfkensbos 59, 6511 TB Nijmegen

<http://www.museumhetvalkhof.nl/>

Important finds from the Hunerberg fortress site used by Drusus to

launch the initial amphibious campaign into Germania in 12 BCE, including masked helmets worn by Batavi cavalry.

USA

Boston, Massachusetts

Museum of Fine Arts

Avenue of the Arts, 465 Huntington Avenue, Boston, Mass.
02115-5523

<http://www.mfa.org>

*Cameo in turquoise of Livia with one of her sons, possibly Drusus;
and statue bust of Drusus as a teenager.*

Glossary

<i>Acies</i>	'Line of troops', battle order
<i>Aedile</i>	Magistrate in charge of public works
<i>Aes</i>	Copper coin, worth one half <i>dupondius</i> (asses pl.)
<i>Ala</i>	'Wing', legionary cavalry on wings of battle formation (<i>alae</i> pl.)
<i>Aquila</i>	'Eagle', the eagle standard of a legion
<i>Aquilifer</i>	Standard bearer carrying the <i>aquila</i>
<i>Ara</i>	Altar
<i>Armatura</i>	Weapons training
<i>Aureus</i>	Highest denomination gold coin worth 25 <i>denarii</i> (<i>aurei</i> pl.)
<i>Auspex</i>	Soothsayer specialising in interpreting flight of birds
<i>Auxilia</i>	Support troops of non-Roman citizens
<i>Ballista</i>	Artillery weapon throwing bolts or stones
<i>Bellator</i>	'Warrior', Roman war-fighter (<i>bellatores</i> pl.)
<i>Beneficiarius</i>	Soldier given a special duty to perform (<i>beneficarii</i> pl.)
<i>Campidoctor</i>	Drill sergeant

<i>Campus Martius</i>	‘Field of Mars’, a large park and recreation ground in Rome
<i>Capitolinus</i>	Hill in Rome on which was built the Temple of Jupiter
<i>Catapulta</i>	Artillery weapon throwing bolts
<i>Censor</i>	Magistrate in charge of the <i>census</i>
<i>Census</i>	Assessment of taxable assets carried out every 5 years
<i>Centuria</i>	‘Century’, unit of 80 men; sixty centuries formed a <i>legio</i>
<i>Centurio</i>	‘Centurion’, officer in charge of a <i>centuria</i>
<i>Cohors</i>	‘Cohort’, unit of six centuries or twelve in a First Cohort (<i>cohortes</i> pl.)
<i>Cohors Urbanus</i>	Paramilitary police guarding the mint
<i>Colonia</i>	‘Colony’, town founded for retired legionaries
<i>Commilitio</i>	‘Fellow soldier’, a form of address to legionaries usually by a senior office (<i>commilitiones</i> pl.)
<i>Confarreatio</i>	Traditional form of wedding
<i>Consul</i>	One of the two highest magistrates of the <i>res publica</i> , elected annually
<i>Contubernales</i>	Form of address for men sharing a tent
<i>Contubernium</i>	Unit of eight men sharing a tent (<i>contubernia</i> pl.)

<i>Cornicen</i>	Horn player, one of the <i>principales</i> in a <i>centuria</i>
<i>Cornu</i>	Circular horn for relaying commands played by a <i>cornicen</i>
<i>Cuneus</i>	‘Wedge’, attack formation used by Roman army
<i>Curia</i>	Senate House
<i>Cursus honorum</i>	Career ladder leading to entry into the Senate as a senator
<i>Denarius</i>	Silver coin, worth four <i>sestertii</i> (<i>denarii</i> pl.)
<i>Doctor Armorum</i>	Instructor in the use of the <i>gladius</i> , <i>pilum</i> and <i>scutum</i>
<i>Dupondius</i>	Bronze coin, worth two <i>asses</i> or one half a <i>sestertius</i> (<i>dupondii</i> pl.)
<i>Dux</i>	Leader (<i>duces</i> pl.)
<i>Equites</i>	‘Knights’, the middle or business class of Roman society
<i>Exercitus</i>	Army
<i>Fabrica</i>	Workshop (<i>fabricae</i> pl.)
<i>Fasces</i>	The tied bundle of rods around an axe carried by <i>lictores</i> as a symbol of the <i>praetor</i> ’s high office
<i>Feliciter</i>	‘Good luck’, a wish shouted at weddings
<i>Feriae</i>	Public holidays and festival days
<i>Flamen</i>	Priest (<i>flamines</i> pl.)
<i>Flammeum</i>	Orange veil worn by the bride at a <i>confarreatio</i>
<i>Fossa</i>	‘Fosse’, a ditch or

<i>Framea</i>	trench used to mean a canal (<i>fossae</i> pl.)
<i>Frater</i>	Germanic spear or javelin (<i>frameae</i> pl.)
<i>Frumentarius</i>	‘Brother’, a form of address used by soldiers (<i>fratres</i> pl.)
	Commissary responsible for the military grain supply (<i>frumentarii</i> pl.)
<i>Forum Romanum</i>	Roman Forum in Rome
<i>Gladius</i>	Short stabbing and thrusting weapon used by legionaries (<i>gladii</i> pl.)
<i>Haruspex</i>	Soothsayer specialising in interpreting animal entrails
<i>Hasta</i>	Javelin used by Roman <i>auxilia</i> and cavalry
<i>Honesta</i>	Roman virtue of respectability
<i>Imago</i>	Mask of wax made during the lifetime of a Roman citizen; military standard bearing a small statue bust of the <i>princeps</i> .
<i>Imaginifer</i>	Standard bearer responsible for carrying the <i>imago</i>
<i>Immunis</i>	Soldier exempt from certain duties, often a bookkeeper or clerk (<i>immunes</i> pl.)
<i>Impedimenta</i>	Baggage train
<i>Imperator</i>	‘Commander’, a title shouted by troops to a victorious leader

<i>Imperium</i>	‘Supreme power’, including the right to wage war
<i>Industria</i>	Roman virtue of working hard
<i>Laudatio</i>	Eulogy
<i>Legatus Legionis</i>	Commander of a <i>legio</i> ‘delegated’ the <i>imperium</i> by Augustus
<i>Legio</i>	Unit of 10 <i>cohortes</i> , approximately 6,000 men (<i>legiones</i> pl.)
<i>Libertas</i>	Roman virtue of independence, freedom of speech
<i>Liburna</i>	‘Liburnian’, type of ship, usually with two rows of oarsmen
<i>Lictor</i>	Bodyguard of a senior magistrate: a <i>consul</i> had 12, a <i>praetor</i> 6, a <i>propraetor</i> 5 and an <i>aedile</i> 2 (<i>lictores</i> pl.)
<i>Lorica hamata</i>	Shirt of chain or ring mail
<i>Lorica squamata</i>	Shirt of scale armour
<i>Lorica segmentata</i>	Body armour of articulated metal plates (a non-Roman term coined in the sixteenth century)
<i>Ludi</i>	Roman blood games, held for religious observance and increasingly used to further political ends
<i>Lumentarius</i>	Soldier or slave responsible for baggage and animals that carried it
<i>Medicus</i>	‘Medic’, doctor
<i>Miles</i>	Common soldier, <i>miles gregarius</i> (<i>milites</i>)

Mos maiorum

pl.)
'The ways of the
elders', traditional
values and forms of
worship

Munera

Roman blood games
held for political and
entertainment

Municipium

purposes
Chartered provincial
Roman city

Navis longa

'Long ship', name of
a bireme or trimere

Officium

'Service', the staff
responsible for
record keeping

Oppidum

Town or defensible
settlement often on a
hill

Onager

'Wild ass', artillery
weapon throwing
stones

Ovatio

Lower form of
triumph awarded to
a victorious
commander who was
permitted to ride on
a horse through the
streets of Rome

Palatinus

Hill in Rome,
location of homes for
the Roman élite

Paterfamilias

Legal master of the
household

Pes

'Foot'

Pes Drusianus

'Drusian Foot', longer
than a standard

Pes Monetalis

Roman foot
'Monetan Foot',
standard Roman unit
of measuring length

Pietas

Roman virtue of
respect for the
natural order of

<i>Pilum</i>	things Roman javelin used by legionaries (<i>pila</i> pl.)
<i>Pompa</i>	Procession in a religious rite or funeral
<i>Pompa triumphalis</i>	Full triumph in which the <i>triumphator</i> rode in a chariot followed by floats displaying the captive and spoils of war.
<i>Pontifex Maximus</i>	‘Chief bridge builder’, chief priest
<i>Praefectus</i>	‘Prefect’, senior officer
<i>Praefectus Castrorum</i>	‘Camp Prefect’, third in command of a <i>legio</i>
<i>Praefectus Equitum</i>	‘Prefect of Horse’, senior officer in command of a <i>turma</i>
<i>Praetor</i>	Senior magistrate responsible for administering law, the <i>ludi</i> and <i>feriae</i>
<i>Praetor Urbanus</i>	Chief <i>praetor</i> in charge of administration of law in Rome
<i>Praetorium</i>	‘Praetor’s building’, house of the senior officer of a <i>legio</i>
<i>Primus Pilus</i>	‘First javelin’, the most senior <i>centurio</i> of a <i>legio</i>
<i>Princeps</i>	‘The First One’, the title adopted by Augustus to describe his leadership position
<i>Princeps Praetorii</i>	Officer in charge of

<i>Principalis</i>	the <i>officium</i> Non-commissioned officer of a centuria, e.g. <i>cornicen</i> , <i>signifer</i> (<i>principales</i> pl.)
<i>Principia</i>	‘Front line’, headquarters building in a Roman fort
<i>Proconsul</i>	Governor of a senatorial province
<i>Propraetor</i>	Governor of an imperial province
<i>Pugio</i>	Short, leaf-shaped dagger worn by legionaries
<i>Quaestor</i>	Junior magistrate in charge of law courts and financial accounting
<i>Quinarius</i>	Lowest denomination copper coin
<i>Rostrum</i>	Speaker’s platform in Forum Romanum
<i>Res publica</i>	‘Public Things’, the commonwealth of the Roman state
<i>Sacerdos</i>	Priest
<i>Scutum</i>	Roman shield (<i>scuta</i> pl.)
<i>Sestertius</i>	Brass coin, equal in value to one-quarter <i>denarius</i> (<i>sestertii</i> pl.)
<i>Signifer</i>	Standard bearer carrying the centurial <i>signum</i>
<i>Signum</i>	Unit standard (<i>signa</i> pl.)
<i>Spatha</i>	Long double-edged slashing sword used by cavalry
<i>Speculator</i>	Military escort (<i>speculatores</i> pl.)
<i>Spolia opima</i>	Prized spoils taken

Suovetaurilia

from an enemy after
armed combat
Religious rite
involving the
sacrifice of a pig,
sheep and bull

Testudo

‘Tortoise’, battle
formation using
shields raised over
the heads

Toga virilis

‘Manly gown’, all-
white toga worn by
Roman adult men

Toga praetexta

White toga with a
broad purple stripe
along the curved
edge

Tresviri

‘Three Men’, a board
responsible for a
state function, e.g.
tresviri monetales who
were responsible for
managing the coin
supply

Tribunus

Tribune: *tribunus
plebis*, a
representative of the
people elected
annually; *tribunus
laticlavus*, the second
in command of a
legio was
accompanied by five
junior *tribuni
angusticlavii*

Triumphator

The military
commander awarded
an *ovatio* or *pompa
triumphalis*

Tropaeum

‘Trophy’ made of
captured weapons
(*tropaea* pl.)

Tumulus

Cenotaph shaped like
a raised circular

<i>Turma</i>	dome (<i>tumuli</i> pl.) Unit of Roman cavalry (<i>turmae</i> pl.)
<i>Vexillarius</i>	Standard bearer of the <i>vexillum</i>
<i>Via Praetoria</i>	Cross road in a Roman camp leading to <i>principia</i>
<i>Via Principalis</i>	Main street of a Roman camp
<i>Via Sacra</i>	‘Sacred Way’, the main road running through the Forum Romanum
<i>Virtus</i>	Roman virtue of courage or manliness

Place Names

Cities and Towns

Alesia

Altinum

Aquae Sextiae

Aquileia

Aliso

Alpis Graia

Andemantunnum

Antunnacum

Ara Ubiorum

Arausio

Argentorate

Arelate

Asciburgium

Athenae

Atuatuca Tungrorum

Augusta Praetoria

Augusta Raurica

Augusta Taurinorum

Augusta Treverorum

Augusta Vindelicorum

Augustobona

Augustodunum Aedorum

Augustomagus

Augustonemetum

Augustoritum

Autricum

Avaricum

Bagacum

Batavodurum

Bonna

Brundisium

Alise-Sainte-Reine

Altino

Aix-en-Provence

Aquileia

Uncertain: Haltern am See? Oberaden?

Little St Bernard Pass
Langres
Andernach
Cologne, Köln (after 1 CE)
Orange
Strasbourg
Arles
Moers-Asberg
Athens, Athenai
Tongeren, Tongres
Aosta
Augst
Turin, Torino
Trier
Augsburg
Troyes
Autun
Senlis
Clermont-Ferrand
Limoges
Chartres
Bourges
Bavai
Nijmegen
Bonn
Brindisi
Burdigala
Caesarea Maritima
Caesaromagus
Cemelenum
Cenabum
Colonia Copia Munatia Felix
Condate
Confluentes
Duria Bautica
Durocortorum
Fectio
Feltria
Forum Iulii
Geminiacum
Genava
Gesoriacum
Hostilia
Limonum

Lugdunum
Maia
Massalia/Massilia
Mediolanum
Mediolanum Santonum
Mogontiacum
Mutina
Narbo Martius
Nemausus
Novaesium
Noviomagus
Oppidum Ubiorum
Pisae
Pons Drusi
Roma
Rotomagus
Segusio
Summus Poeninus
Ticinum
Tridentum
Tropaeum Drusi
Vetere
Vercellae
Verona
Vindonissa
Vorgium
Bordeaux
Caesarea
Beauvais
Cimiez
Orléans
Lyon (Fourvière)
Lyon (La Croix-Rousse)
Koblenz
Dora Baltea
Reims
Vechten
Feltre
Fréjus
Liberchies
Geneva, Genève
Boulogne
Ostiglia
Poitiers

Lyon (after mid-first century CE)

Merano

Marseilles

Milan, Milano

Saintes

Mainz

Modena

Narbonne

Nîmes

Neuss

Speyer

Cologne, Köln (prior to 1 CE)

Pisa

Bolzano

Rome, Roma

Rouen

Susa

Great St Bernard Pass

Pavia

Trent, Trento

Uncertain: Dresden? Magdeburg? Poppenburg?

Xanten

Vercell

Verona

Windisch

Carhaix

Rivers

Adrana

Aenus

Alara

Albis

Amisia, Amisius

Arar

Athesis

Danuvius

Eliso

Garumna

Isara

Ister

Laugona

Licus, Licates

Liger

Longino

Lupia

Moenus
Mosa
Mosella
Navalla
Nicer
Padus
Rhenus
Rhodanus
Sala
Sequana
Vahalis
Viadrus
Visurgis
Eder
Inn
Aller
Elbe
Ems
Saône
Adige, Etsch
Danube, Donau
Uncertain: Alme?
Garonne
Isar
Danube, Donau
Lahn
Lech
Loire
Leine
Lippe
Main
Meuse
Moselle, Mosel
IJssel
Neckar
Po
Rhine, Rhein
Rhône
Saal
Seine
Waal
Oder
Weser

Ancient Sources

The evidence from which it is possible to piece together the life and exploits of Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus is scattered across several types of source material. These include written accounts and inscriptions. From coins and sculptures we have a good idea of how he looked.

1. Authors

Written sources from the ancient world pose particular problems for modern historians. The approach to writing history then was very different to today. In *Ancient History: Evidence and Models* (1985) Sir Moses Finley observed that modern scholars tend to treat ancient authors' works with a reverence and lack of criticism that they do not accord material of other ages. It is particularly problematic for anyone studying the principate of Augustus. Primary – that is to say contemporary or eyewitness – accounts are few. They include the emperor's own propagandist *Res Gestae*, Velleius Paterculus' simplistic history, Strabo's sprawling geographical treatise, and the poems of Horace, Propertius and Vergil. The narrative history for the period penned by the great historian of the time, Livy, is entirely lost save for what are in effect library catalogue entries of each volume recorded in the so-called *Periochae*. All the other accounts of the long reign of Augustus were written decades or centuries later. The most complete continuous narrative is the derivative history of Cassius Dio which he wrote two-and-a-half centuries after the events and for his source material he drew on earlier accounts. In studying these accounts for evidence of the life and exploits of Drusus we have to be mindful of the difficulties posed by the literature and understand the motives of the authors, the times in which they wrote and compare their claims against what is known from the archaeological record. Furthermore, few of the ancient writers had military experience so their accounts of expeditions, campaigns and battles lack the observations and insights of a soldier learned from actual combat.

Augustus (C. or G. Iulius Caesar Augustus), 63 BCE–14 CE

According to Suetonius (*Claudius* 1) shortly after Drusus the

Elder's death Augustus wrote a biography of his youngest stepson. Not a single word of it survives, which is a great pity as it was likely as much a memoir as a straight historical account – Augustus' fondness for his youngest stepson is attested both by Suetonius and Cassius Dio. Augustus alluded to Drusus' military exploits in the official account of his personal accomplishments, known as the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, written shortly before his death and which survives more-or-less complete from inscriptions found in Ancyra, Antioch and Apollonia. Though not crediting the achievement to Drusus directly by name, Augustus nevertheless celebrated his expedition from the Rhine to the land of the Cimbri (*Res Gestae* 26.109) and the subsequent surrender of the Sugambri (*Res Gestae* 32.137).

Cassiodorus (Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator), c. 485–c. 585 CE

The Syrian-born statesman who served Theodoric the Great, later turned monk, wrote a combined history of the Ostrogothic and Roman peoples ending in the year 519 CE. In the *Chronica*, or *Chronicon*, dedicated to Eutharic, son-in-law of Theodoric, Cassiodorus drew upon a library of older works including Livy, Aufidius Bassus, Eutropius and Jerome. As a chronicler, he lists events as they occurred, including the dedication of a temple to Caesar (Augustus?) among the Lingones in Gallia Belgica in 9 BCE, the year of Drusus' consulship (*Chronicon* 385D).

Cassius Dio (L. or Cl. Dio Cassius Cocceianus), c. 155 or 163/164–after 229 CE

Dio was a senator and consul who wrote one of the most complete histories of Roman civilisation that has come down to us. Written in Greek in eighty volumes, it took Cassius Dio twenty-two years to research and assemble his material. Book 54 of the *Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἱστορία* (*Roman History*) provides the most complete account of the Norican, Raetian and German Wars undertaken by Drusus 15–10 BCE. Book 55 describes the course of fateful events in 9 BCE including the appearance of a Latin-speaking Germanic ghoul to Drusus, which caused him to suspend the campaign after erecting a *tropeion* on the Elbe River. He also describes Drusus' death, Tiberius' epic trip to be at his side when he died and his long walk leading the cortège to Rome, and the state funeral. He mentions the *kenotaphion* (erected in Mogontiacum) by soldiers of the legions upon their commander's death. His sources may have included Livy.

Eutropius, fourth century CE

Eutropius was a government official based in Constantinople who served the Emperor Julian 'The Apostate' (361–363 CE) on his campaign against the Sassanids. He was alive during the reign of Emperor Valens (364–378 CE) to whom he dedicated his *Breviarium Historiae Romanae*. This is a compendium in ten books of Roman history from the foundation of the city to the accession of Valens. He draws upon several respected sources, including Livy, and in this regard his book provides a useful confirmation of events, such as Augustus' appointment of Drusus to prosecute the German War; as well as details that have not survived in other extant accounts, such as the relocation of 40,000 prisoners (*captivi*) from Germania to Gaul (*Breviarium* 7.9).

Florus (Iulius Florus or L. Anneus Florus or P. Annius Florus), second century CE

The precise identity of Florus continues to be debated (he may have been the poet, rhetorician and friend of the Emperor Hadrian), but the *Epitome de T. Livio Bellorum Omnium Annorum DCC Libri Duo* in two volumes summarises all the main wars fought by Roman armies up to the time of his writing. He mentions Drusus' rôle in the Norican War against the Raeti, Vindelici and kingdom of Noricum (*Epitome* 2.22) and against the Germanic nations (*Epitome* 2.30) – and delights in disclosing some of the more lurid details of atrocities.

Horace (Q. Horatius Flaccus), 65–8 BCE

A favourite of Augustus, Horace is regarded as one of imperial Rome's greatest Latin poets. He composed the *Carmina* or Odes (23–13 BCE), the fourth book of which is believed to have been commissioned personally by Augustus to honour his stepsons. In Ode 4 he celebrates the bravery and derring-do of Drusus and Tiberius against the Raeti and Vindelici (*Carmina* 4.4). From Horace we know that Drusus' siege of the *oppidum* of the Genauni took place on 1 August 15 BCE (*Carmina* 4.14).

Hyginus (Hyginus Gromaticus?), second century CE

Hyginus was a Roman land surveyor who set out what an engineer of the first century should know to be competent at defining legal boundaries. From his *De Conditionibus Agrorum* we learn of the unit of measurement called the *pes Drusianus*, or 'Drusus foot', which was slightly longer than the standard *pes Monetalis* or 'Roman foot', being used in Germania by the Tungri (*Agrorum* 11).

Josephus (Yosef Ben Matityahu or T. Flavius Josephus), 37–100 CE

The erstwhile leader of the resistance at Yodfat (Jotapata) during the First Jewish War of 66–73 CE, Josephus was a prolific writer under his Flavian benefactors to whom he owed his life. In his *Wars of the Jews* (*Jewish War* or *The History of the Destruction of Jerusalem*) published around 75 CE he describes the harbour at Caesarea Maritima and mentions the fact that the tallest tower was called the ‘Drusion’ or ‘Drusium’ after Augustus’ youngest stepson at King Herodes’ own request (*Jewish War* 1.411–413).

Livy (T. Livius), 59 BCE–17 CE

Livy knew several members of the Julio-Claudian family personally, possibly including Drusus, and he even encouraged the young (and future Emperor) Claudius to write history. Arguably Rome’s greatest historian, Livy wrote the epic *Ab Urbe Condita Libri* in 142 books covering the period 753 BCE to Livy’s own time. Thirty-five of the books survive and the contents of the lost books we know from the *Periochae*, which is a catalogue of summaries by individual volumes. From the *Periochae* we know that Books 138–142 of Livy’s *magnum opus* covered the important period of Drusus’ public and military life, 15 BCE through 9 BCE. In particular, Book 142 gives a description of how Drusus was fatally wounded and of the funeral. The tantalizingly cryptic descriptions of each book attest to the scope and rich detail of Livy’s work that provided *the* source material for many later writers such as Cassiodorus, Florus, Valerius Maximus and Velleius Paterculus.

Obsequens (Iulius Obsequens), mid-fourth century CE

Little is known about Obsequens whose name means “compliant”. He published a book entitled *Ab Anno Urbis Conditae Du Prodigiorum Liber* (Book of Prodigies since the Foundation of the City). It is a compilation of omens and portents that occurred in Rome between 249–12 BCE and appears to have drawn heavily on the works of Livy. The last section of the surviving document mentions the swarm of bees that presaged a defeat for Drusus’ army in 12 BCE.

Ovid (P. Ovidius Naso), 43 BCE–17 CE

Ovid is commonly ascribed the authorship of the elegy variously called *Consolatio ad Liviam* or *Ad Liviam de Morte Drusi* or *Epicedion Drusi* (*Poem of Consolation for Livia Augusta on the Death of Her Son Nero Drusus*). The author claims to have been at the

funeral and describes the reaction of the crowds, though scholars believe it was written well after the event and put its date of creation after 6 CE. A possible, though unlikely, author of the poem is C. Albinovanus Pedo, who was a contemporary of Augustus. However, its poor pseudo-Ovidian style and metre; the fact that it is not anywhere mentioned by Ovid; and that it is known only from a manuscript of the second half of the fifteenth century, leads some scholars to postulate that its creator lived in Renaissance not Roman Italy.

Pliny the Elder (G. Plinius Secundus), 23–79 CE

The polymath Pliny the Elder was an active soldier in the Rhine army, seeing three tours of duty (45–51 CE), including one as a *praefectus equitum* and he wrote a single-volume book on throwing the javelin while riding on horseback. His nephew and heir G. Plinius Caecilius Secundus (Pliny the Younger) records in a letter to Baebius Macer (*Letters* 3.5) the story he was told that while his uncle slept in his cot in Germania he was visited by the ghost of Drusus who implored him to write a history of his life and exploits “lest they fade into oblivion”. He began writing the book, which was regarded as an authoritative history of all the German Wars fought by the Romans, while on active duty. Pliny likely borrowed material or referenced Aufidius Bassus’ *Bellum Germanicum* – but that book has not come down to us. Sadly Pliny’s *Bella Germaniae* in twenty volumes has also not survived, although we know that it in turn provided source material for other Roman historians, notably Tacitus (*Annals* 1.69).

Pliny is best known for his encyclopaedic *Naturalis Historia* (*Natural History*). From it we know he had first hand knowledge of the people and territories of the Chauci and Chatti, including Lacus Flevo (*Naturalis Historia* 16.1–2). It is in this work that Pliny records the great achievement of a Roman fleet sailing as far as the *promontorium Cimbrorum* (*Naturalis Historia* 2.167), the swarming of the bees before Drusus’ near catastrophic Battle at Arbalo (*Naturalis Historia* 11.18) and Tiberius’ 200-mile ride in a vehicle in a single day and night to be with his dying brother (*Naturalis Historia* 7.20.84).

Seneca the Younger (L. Annaeus Seneca), c. 4 BCE–65 CE

Seneca, the stoic philosopher, statesman and dramatist, who was also tutor to Emperor Nero, wrote a series of moral essays. In *De Consolatione ad Marciam* (*To Marcia on Consolation*), written around 40 CE, he remarks that Drusus would have made a great *princeps* having already proved himself a great leader (*dux*) by taking Roman *signa* further into Germania than any Roman

before (*To Marcia on Consolation* 3.1). He also mentions that the Germanic tribes agreed to a 'cease fire' on account of their respect for Drusus to allow Tiberius to take his dead brother home (*Ad Marciam* 3.1). Seneca discusses the funeral cortège from Germania and the outpouring of public grief as it made its way to Rome (*Ad Marciam* 3.2); and the grief his mother Livia displayed which she put aside once her son's ashes were laid in the Mausoleum out of respect for her living husband and eldest son (*Ad Marciam* 3.2).

Strabo (Strabonos), 63/64 BCE–c. 24 CE

The historian, geographer and philosopher Strabo is best known for his Γεωγραφικά (*Geography*), a seventeen volume descriptive survey of the world known to the Romans. Begun some time around 20 BCE, Strabo gives an insight into the intelligence base Drusus and his legates had to work with at the time they planned their campaigns. He provides us with useful descriptions of the land and rivers of the Alps, of the Tres Galliae and of Germania, as well as a comprehensive list of peoples living there (*Geography* 7.1.2–3). He specifically blames the Sugambri under their warlord Melo for instigating hostilities with the Romans in 17 BCE (*Geography* 7.1.4). He also reveals the general paucity of knowledge the Romans had of the regions beyond Germania. His account confirms Drusus' presence in the Alps (*Geography* 4.6.9), his exploration of the Frisian coastline and his untimely death at an unspecified location he places between the Salas and Rhenus rivers (*Geography* 7.1.3).

Suetonius (G. Suetonius Tranquillis), c. 69/75–after 130 CE

Suetonius mentions Drusus in three of his books in the biographical *Lives of the Caesars* (*De Vita Caesarum*). In *Divus Augustus* he quotes from the letter in which Drusus is depicted playing and losing at dice (*Divus Augustus* 71). In *Tiberius* he describes the Claudian clan and tells the story of Ti. Claudius Nero, Drusus' father (*Tiberius* 1–4). He also reveals the tension between Tiberius and Drusus in the episode of the disclosure of the 'republican letter' (*Tiberius* 50). His fullest account of Drusus' life, however, is found in the life of *Claudius*, in which he lists in resumé fashion the commander's achievements. It is here that Suetonius describes Drusus' birth and later change of name, as well as revealing his political leanings and personal motivations, including his eagerness for glory and the lust for *spolia opima* (*Claudius* 1). He writes briefly about the *fossae Drusinae* – 'Drusus' canals' – suggesting there was possibly more than one structure. He also mentions the *tumulus* erected by soldiers of the

legions upon their commander's death and the continuing annual race and festival held in his honour there and in cities across Tres Galliae; and the triumphal arch and posthumous grant by the senate of the *agnomen* Germanicus (*Claudius* 1).

Tacitus (P. or G. Cornelius Tacitus), 56–117 CE

Tacitus was a senator who wrote several books during the reign of Emperor Trajan. In *De Origine et Situ Germanorum* (more usually called simply *Germania*) published in 98 CE, Tacitus summarises what was then known about the geography and ethnography of the lands beyond the Danube and Rhine rivers. From the *Germania* we learn of the Romans' understanding of some forty nations of Germanic people as well as of their misconceptions, stereotypes and prejudices a century after Drusus' expeditions. He lauds Drusus for his audacious amphibious campaign of 12 BCE (*Germania* 34).

In his *Ab Excessu Divi Augusti* (more conveniently nowadays referred to as the *Annales* or *Annals*) published in 117 CE, he describes the expeditions of Germanicus, Drusus' son, and reveals that much of the military planning for the campaign of 16 CE drew on his father's pioneering work (*Annales* 2.6). He is one of the two sources to mention the *fossa Drusiana* – 'Drusus canal' (*Annales* 2.8). Tacitus' work drew upon Pliny the Elder's *Bella Germaniae* for details of Drusus' and Germanicus' campaigns in Germania Magna (*Annales* 2.69).

Valerius Maximus, c. 20 BCE–50 CE

Little is known about Valerius Maximus' personal life. During the reign of Emperor Tiberius he wrote *Factorum ac Dictorum Memorabilium Libri IX* or *Memorable Deeds and Sayings in Nine Books*, which is a collection of about a thousand stories chosen for the moral guidance they offered, each arranged under one of several themes. Maximus gives us our only insight into Drusus' sex life and his devotion to Antonia (*Factorum et Dictorum* 4.3.3). Under 'kindness and compassion' Maximus describes Tiberius' 200-mile ride to be by his brother's side on learning of his fatal wound, while Drusus is concerned that his brother is accorded the respect he deserves upon his arrival (*Factorum ac Dictorum* 5.5.3). Maximus chose the story as an example of brotherly devotion, and compared the Claudius brothers to Castor and Pollux. Livy was one of his principal sources.

Velleius Paterculus (C. or M. Velleius Paterculus), c. 19 BCE–c. 31 CE

From 4 CE Paterculus saw eight years of active service in

Germania and Pannonia under Tiberius, first as a *praefectus equitum* and then as a *legatus*. His *Historiae Romanae* or *Compendium of Roman History* in two volumes begins with the diaspora of the Greeks after the fall of Troy and ends with the death of Livia Drusilla (29 CE). The work is regarded as that of a courtly annalist rather than a critical historian, offering a particularly gushing eulogy of Tiberius' exploits in Book II. He includes a short but flattering description of Drusus' personality and talents (*Historiae Romanae* 2.97.2–3).

2. Coins

No coins were minted during Drusus the Elder's lifetime that mention the man by name or show his portrait. However, an *aureus* of Augustus (RIC 52/BMC 77) and the lower denomination *denarius* (RIC 165a; plate 22) of similar design minted in 15 BCE is generally accepted as showing Drusus and Tiberius symbolically offering olive branches to Augustus who is seated on a *sella curulis* upon a raised dais in celebration of the victories over the Raeti, Vindelici and kingdom of Noricum. A *denarius* minted by the *tresvir monetalis* L. Caninius Gallus (RIC 416/RSC 383; plate 27) shows a kneeling Germanic tribesman offering up a flag standard or *vexillum* and its date, 12 BCE, suggests it was issued to commemorate the successful ending of the first year of Drusus' campaign.

The only coins showing the profile of Drusus' head were minted almost fifty years later under his son, then Emperor Claudius (42–54 CE). This superb series of coins commemorates Drusus' German wars and several bear the slogan 'DE GERMANIS'. There is wide variation in the portraits on the obverse according to the skill of the engraver of the die. A gold *aureus* (RIC 69/BMC 95) and silver *denarius* (RIC 70/BMC 97) share the same reverse showing the triumphal arch erected after Drusus' death by order of the Senate. The slogan runs the entire length of the entablature. Drusus' statue shows him on a horse, its front legs facing to the right rearing up as the rider prepares to thrust his spear down. In yet another version (RIC 72, RIC77/BMC 102) the statue of Drusus is shown cantering from right to left, his right arm outstretched in a gesture of authority. However in some versions, the letters 'DE' and 'GERM' are split to fit the available space with the result that the first word is on top of the arch, while the second is in the entablature between the two columns. Modillions or capitals are shown projecting from either side of the building supporting the cornice. Drusus is shown with his horse leaping and his spear held horizontally

ready to brace for impact. In this alternative version captives sit crosslegged at the base of each of the trophies with hands tied behind their backs. A brass *sestertius* (RIC 114/BMC 188) was also minted showing the arch, but this does not display the slogan and on this coin the mounted statue of Drusus is shown with his right arm raised ready to thrust his spear down. The differences in the depiction of the arch on the coins may possibly be explained by the fact that some show the front side of the archway, while the others show the back, though it may simply be that the die makers were working from different drawings or working from memory.

Another design is a silver *denarius* (RIC 74/BMC 107) showing two hexagonal shields laid over each other to form an 'X', placed on top of crossed spears, trumpets and a *vexillum*. The last in the series shows Drusus' portrait on the obverse and Claudius sitting togate on a curule chair surrounded by Germanic spoils (RIC 93/BMC 157).

Coins issued for Drusus the Elder should not be confused with those of Drusus Caesar (Drusus the Younger) who was the son of Tiberius.

3. Inscriptions

A few inscriptions survive that mention Drusus the Elder. One (*Inscriptiones Italiae* 13.2.117) was carved in Drusus' lifetime and erected at the Mausoleum of Augustus. It refers to an event held on 30 January 9 BCE:

FERIAE EX S[ENATVS] C[ONSVLTO] QVO[D EO] DIE ARA PACIS
AVGVSTA[E IN CAMPO] MARTIO DEDICATA [E]ST DRVSO ET
CRISPINO C[ONSVLES]

Holidays, by decree of the Senate, because on this day the Altar of Peace of Augustus in the Campus Martius was dedicated in the year of the consulships of [Nero Claudius] Drusus and [T. Quinctius] Crispinus.

Arguably the first known inscription to use the posthumously awarded *agnomen* Germanicus was on an altar (*CIL* VI.37063). Intriguingly, the surface of the inscription infers that the workmen had already begun carving the letters when they were told to add the honorary title and had to make adjustments within the moulded border for the additional letters to fit:

NERO CLAVDIVS DRVSVS GERMANIC[VS]
T[ITVS] QVINCTIVS CRISPINVS CO[N]S[VLES]
EX S[ENATVS] C[ONSVLTO] RESTITVER[VNT]

Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus, Titus Quinctius Crispinus, Consuls, by decree of the Senate, restored [this altar].

Two milestones have been found along the route of the *via*

Claudia Augusta set up by Drusus' son Emperor Claudius. The first (*CIL* V.8003) was discovered in 1552 at Rablà near Merano and is now displayed at the Museo archeologico dell'Alto Adige (South Tyrol Museum of Archaeology), Bolzano, a copy having been erected at the original find site. It reads:

TI[BERIVS] CLAVDIVS CAESAR
AVGVSTVS GERMAN[ICVS]
PONT[IFEX] MAX[IMVS] TRIB[VNICIA] POT[ESTATE] VI
CO[N]S[VL] DESIG[NATVS] IIII IMP[ERATOR] XI P[ATER] P[ATRIE]
[VI]AM CLAVDIAM AVGVSTAM
QUAM DRVSVS PATER ALPIBVS
BELLO PATEFACTIS DEREXERAT
MVNIT A FLVMINE PADO AT
[F]LV MEN DANVVIVM PER [MILIA]
P[ASSVM] CC[CL]

Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, *Pontifex Maximus*, holding the tribunician power for the sixth time, the office of consul four times, acclaimed *Imperator* eleven times, father of the Fatherland, built the *via Claudia Augusta*, the route of which his father Drusus had opened up across the Alps through war, from the Po River to the Danube River, a distance of 350 miles.

The second milestone (*CIL* V.8002) found at Cesiomaggiore at Feltre, Italy near the Villa Tauro alle Centenère in 1786, reads:

TI[BERIVS] CLAVDIVS F[ILIVS]
CAESAR AVGVSTVS GERMA
NICVS PONTIFEX MAXI
MVS TRIBVNICIA POTESTA
TE VI CO[N]SVL IV IMP[ERATOR] XI P[ATER] P[ATRIE]
CENSOR VIAM CLAVDIAM
AVGVSTAM QVAM DRVSVS
PATER ALPIBVS BELLO PATE
FACTIS DEREX[E]RAT MVNIT AB
ALTINO VSQVE AD FLVMEN
DANVVIVM M[ILIA] P[ASSVVM] CCCL

Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, son (of Drusus), *Pontifex Maximus*, holding the tribunician power for the sixth time, the office of consul four times, acclaimed *Imperator* eleven times, father of the Fatherland, Censor, built the *via Claudia Augusta*, the route of which his father Drusus had opened up across the Alps through war, from Altinum to the Danube River, a distance of 350 miles.

According to Clara A. Holzhauser's doctoral thesis *An Epigraphic Commentary on Suetonius' Life of Tiberius* (University of Pennsylvania, 1918) a few inscriptions citing Drusus are simple and dedicated to him alone, including *CIL* V.3109 from Vicetia, 4310 from Brixia; and *CIA* 3.443 on a marble base in an arch north of the Erectheum on the Acropolis of Athens dedicated by the people of the city. Several inscriptions specifically name him as the brother of Tiberius, including *CIL* IX.3663 from

Marruvium; Dessau 8787 from near Troy; and, in so far as they are dedicated to Livia as the mother of both Tiberius and Drusus, *CIL* II.2038 from Anticaria; IX.3304 from Superaequum; XI.1165 from Veleia. A number of inscriptions confirm his activities in Germany, such as *CIL* II.2038; IX.2443, 3304, 3663; and *Eph. Ep.* 4.775.

4. Sculptures

Ara Pacis Augustae, Rome

On the south facing enclosure wall, one figure in the procession is conspicuous by his attire (plate 7). He is the only male figure shown wearing the *paludamentum*, the military cloak, in contrast to the others who wear togas; and *caligae*, the robust, open sandals worn by soldiers, which compare to the others who wear closed civilian boots. The consensus opinion is the figure is that of Nero Claudius Drusus since he was active on military campaign while the altar was being carved and at the time of the inauguration on 30 January 9 BCE (see 3, above). If the identification is correct, this is the only portrait of Drusus which can be securely dated to his lifetime. He is shown as a confident and relaxed individual in the company of his family. With her head turned to look at him is the figure of Antonia Minor, who holds the hand of a small boy identified as Ti. Claudius Nero (better known as Germanicus) who would have been nearly six years old at the time of the consecration ceremony.

Portraits

Several carvings and busts have been identified as Drusus the Elder, though the identifications of some can be – and have been – disputed.

The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in the United States has a cameo (accession number 99.109) believed to show Livia Drusilla holding a bust of one of her sons as a child, so it is possibly that of Drusus as a boy. Measuring 3.1 centimetres (1.2 inches) x 3.8 centimetres (1.5 inches) and carved from turquoise sometime during the early imperial period, this piece of jewellery shows Livia in the guise of Venus Genetrix. The young man looks up at her, his head wreathed in laurel.

The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston also has a bust (accession number 88.346; plate 4) of a late teenager with his head covered with a toga like a veil, indicating that the figure was represented as a citizen in an act of prayer, or a priest or magistrate in the act of making a sacrifice. Carved around 18 BCE in marble from Mount Pentelikon near Athens the bust was purportedly found in

Civita Lavinia. Measuring 41 centimetres (16.1 inches) x 17 centimetres (6.7 inches) the bust was intended to be inserted in a draped statue and was made separately. The head is turned and inclined very slightly to the right. It has been variously identified as Drusus (the date would be consistent with his quaestorship) or his brother.

A very fine cast bronze bust from Pompeii is now kept at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, in Naples, Italy. Measuring 42 centimetres (16.5 inches), the head is turned and inclined very slightly to the right. The bust is remarkable for the hazel-coloured inlay still present in the irises of the eyes. Though the man appears older, his features – shape of the face, prominent ears, styling of the hair – are strikingly close to those of the marble bust in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

A particularly fine marble head is displayed in the Gallo-Roman Collection of the Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, Belgium (accession number A.1148; plate 5). It was acquired from the Collection L. Somzée in 1904. The bust shows a man in his early to mid-twenties and its profile is consistent with that of Drusus on the coins issued by Claudius. There is something of the quality of Alexander the Great in this portrait with its slight tilt of the head and somewhat dreamy gaze, full lips, and tousled hair, which is worn long at the neck in the style the Claudius brothers favoured.

A somewhat more crudely sculpted head is displayed in the Department of Greek, Etruscan and Roman Antiquities of the Louvre, Paris (accession number Ma 3515; plate 31). It was carved from Parian marble quarried near Athens around 9 BCE–2 CE and measures 27 centimetres (10.6 inches). The shape of the head, the prominent ears and the haircut echo those of the bronze bust in Naples, but the quality of execution of the features lacks the finesse of either busts in Belgium or Italy.

A statue identified as Drusus the Elder is in the collection of the Vatican Museum in The Vatican City. The larger than lifesize statue was found in Caere (Cerveteri), 50–60 kilometres (31.0–37.3 miles) northwest of Rome, and originally stood in the theatre or the nearby Augusteum, where it was part of a statuary group comprising of Tiberius, seated Claudius, Britannicus and Messalina. Drusus is shown as the military commander with muscled cuirass decorated with phoenixes, and a *paludamentum* draped over the left shoulder. He stands with right arm outstretched, with the head turned slightly to the right as if gazing out to a distant horizon.

The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford includes an unidentified

bust from the Arundel Collection simply described as a “Roman Prince” (Michaelis 69). The bust has been identified variously as Agrippa Postumus, Britannicus, Claudius and Tiberius, but in the author’s view the portrait is closer to the profile of the bust in the *Musées royaux d’Art et d’Histoire*, Brussels. The hair is cut in the same feathered style over the face, with long sideburns and worn long at the back.

Standing in the Great Court of the British Museum, London is a marble statue of a “Roman prince on horseback” (accession number GR 1864 10–21 BM Sc. 1886). On stylistic grounds it has been dated to the Julio-Claudian period, but it was restored in the sixteenth century by the Italian Renaissance architect and sculptor Giacomo della Porta and became part of the Farnese Collection. The young man is naked but for a cloak pinned with a brooch over the right shoulder. He holds the reins in his right hand and a rod or scroll or riding crop in his left. The hairstyle is unmistakably that favoured by the Claudians of the turn of the first century CE. The statue may possibly be one of those commissioned by the Senate in 9 BCE to honour Drusus and to console his mother Livia.

Notes

Abbreviations

AE	<i>L'Année Epigraphique</i>
AW	<i>Ancient Warfare</i>
BMCRE	H.B. Mattingly <i>et al.</i> , <i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum</i> , London 1923–
BMCRR	H.A. Grueber, <i>Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum</i> , London, 1910
CAH	A.K. Bowman <i>et al.</i> , <i>The Cambridge Ancient History, Volume X: The Augustan Empire, 43 BC – AD 69</i> , Cambridge, 1996
CIL	T. Mommsen <i>et al.</i> , <i>Corpus Inscriptionem Latinarum</i> , Berlin, 1863–
CRA	P. Erdkamp, <i>A Companion to the Roman Army</i> , Oxford, 2007
JbSGU	<i>Jahrbuch (Jahresbericht) der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Urgeschichte</i>
JRES	<i>Journal of Roman Equipment Studies</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
MDAI(I)	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Abteilung Istanbul)</i>
RIC	H.B. Mattingly, E.A. Sydenham, <i>Roman Imperial Coinage</i> , London, 1923–
RIL	<i>Rendiconti del Istituto Lombardo di scienza e lettere, Classe di Lettere</i>
S	H.A. Seaby <i>et al.</i> , <i>Roman Silver Coins</i> , London, 1978–

Chapter 1: Drusus the Youth

- 1 See Anthony A. Barrett, *Livia: First Lady of Imperial Rome*, New Haven, 2002, Appendix 7, pp. 313–314 – this is the best guess possible based on the available evidence.
- 2 Dio 48.34–3.
- 3 Velleius Paterculus 2.75.3;
Tacitus, *Annales* 5.1.2.
- 4 Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 69.1;
Tacitus, *Annales* 5.1.2.
- 5 See Barrett 2002, p. 22; Tacitus, *Annales* 5.1; Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 69.1; Dio
para" > 48.34.3.
- 6 Suetonius, *Tiberius* 4.3.
- 7 Velleius Paterculus 2.79.2; Dio
48.44.3.
- 8 Dio 48.44.3.
- 9 For a discussion on forms of marriage in Roman times, see Jerome Carcopino, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome*, New Haven, 1940, pp. 80–84; Ugo E. Paoli, *Rome: Its People, Life and Customs*, London, 1963, pp. 113–119.
- 10 Suetonius, *Claudius* 1.1.
- 11 Ovid, *Fasti*, 1.587. R. Seager, *Tiberius*, Berkeley, 1972, p. 10 favours 14 January whereas Levick 2002, Appendix 7, pp. 313–314, opts for a date before 17 March 38 BCE. Drusus the Elder's birthday may be recorded on a fragment of a calendar dating to the Julio-Claudian era from Colonia Iulia Hispellum (Spello), Umbria in Italy, see S. Piruli "Osservazioni sul feriale di Spello", *Tituli* 2 (1980), pp. 47–80; arguing against this view is P. Herz,

- 12 “Das Kenotaph von Limyra, kultische und juristische Voraussetzungen”, *MDAI(I)* 35 (1984), pp. 178–192 at p. 189ff. For a discussion of childhood in Roman times, see J.P.V.D. Balsdon, *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome*, London, 1969, pp. 91–92.
- 13 Cicero, *Ad Familiares* (P. Silius Nerva in Bithynia) 13.64.
- 14 Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 7.3; *Ad Familiares* (P. Silius Nerva in Bithynia) 13.64.
- 15 Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 6.6.
- 16 Caesar, *Bellum Alexandrinum* 25; Dio 42.40.
- 17 Tacitus, *Annales* 5.1; Suetonius, *Tiberius* 4.3; Velleius 2.77.3.
- 18 Suetonius, *Tiberius* 6.4.
- 19 Suetonius, *Tiberius* 6.4.
- 20 C.J. Simpson, “The Change in *Praenomen* of Drusus Germanicus”, *Phoenix* 42.2, 1988, pp. 173–175.
- 21 Suetonius, *Tiberius* 1.2.
- 22 Suetonius, *Tiberius* 1.2.
- 23 Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 72.1; for a full discussion of the acquisition of the property see Barrett 2002, Appendix 15.
- 24 Dio 49.15.5; Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 29.3; Velleius Paterculus 2.81.3.
- 25 Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 73.
- 26 Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 72.1.
- 27 Suetonius, *Tiberius* 1.1; Tacitus, *Annales* 11.23.
- 28 Suetonius, *Tiberius* 1.2.
- 29 Suetonius, *Tiberius* 2.1.
- 30 Livy 11.29.
- 31 Diodorus Siculus 23.3.
- 32 Suetonius, *Tiberius* 1.1.
- 33 Livy 27.41–51.

- 34 Recreating family trees of ancient families poses several problems: see E.J. Weinrib, “The Family Connections of M. Livius Drusus Libo”, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 72, 1968, pp. 247–278.
- 35 Suetonius, *Tiberius* 3.2.
- 36 Harriett I. Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture*, Oxford, 1996, pp. 7–8 and pp. 38–46 citing Polybius 6.53.4 and Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* 35.6.
- 37 Flower (1996, p. 2) notes that the *imago* was made while the man was alive, based on S.C. *de Cn. Pisone patre*. For a discussion of funeral rites in Roman times, see Balsdon, 1969, pp. 126–129.
- 38 C.J. Bannon, *The Brothers of Romulus: Fraternal Pietas in Roman Law, Literature and Society*, Princeton, 1997, pp. 138–148.
- 39 See Mary Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, Harvard, 2007, pp. 14–18.
- 40 See Voins, C 81; *BMCRE* 401 var. (PARENT); *RIC* 98; CB 1199.
- 41 Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* 33.111–2.
- 42 Suetonius, *Tiberius* 6.4; the sculpture is cited by Beard, 2007, p. 224.
- 43 Vergil, *Aeneid* 8.722–8, in translation by John Dryden.
- 44 Dio 53.11.4–5, 53.13.1–2, 53.17.1.
- 45 Dio 53.16.8, 53.18.2.
- 46 Suetonius, *Tiberius* 9.1.
- 47 Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis*

	<i>Historia</i> 34.3–4.
48	Dio 50.30.2; Velleius Paterculus 2.93.2.
49	Dio 53.27.5.
50	Dio 53.30.3.
51	Two elaborate examples are shown in the <i>Pompeii AD 79</i> exhibition catalogue, Royal Academy of Arts, 1977, item 48.
52	Balsdon 1969, p. 120.
53	Dio 53.28.3.
54	Dio 53.31.3.
55	Dio 53.30.5; Suetonius, <i>Divus Augustus</i> 29.4.
56	Dio 53.33.4.
57	Dio 53.30.4–6.
58	Aelius Donatus, <i>Vita Vergiliana</i> 32, citing Vergil, <i>Aeneid</i> 6.884.
59	Dio 54.6.5.
60	The citizens of Athenae (Athens), Tenos (the Cycladic island of Tinos) and Pergamon (western Turkey) erected statues and inscriptions in his name: see note 70.
61	Meyer Reinold, “Marcus Agrippa’s Son-in-Law P. Quinctilius Varus” in <i>Classical Philology</i> , Volume 67.2 (1972), pp. 119–121. Seager 1972, pp. 17–18.
62	Barrett 2002, p. 38.
63	Aelius Donatus, <i>Vita Vergiliana</i> 35.
64	For this interpretation of the phrase ‘praetorian ornaments’ see Valerie Maxfield, <i>The Military Decorations of the Roman Army</i> , London, 1981, p. 153.
65	Dio 54.10.4.
66	Dio 54.26; the number was reduced to twenty (<i>vigintiviri</i>) while Augustus was away from

	Rome between 16–13 BCE.
67	Suetonius, <i>Tiberius</i> 8.
68	Pliny the Younger, <i>Epistulae</i> 7.31.
69	Suetonius, <i>Claudius</i> 1.2; Nikos Kokkinos, <i>Antonia Augusta: Portrait of a Great Roman Lady</i> , London, 1992, p. 11.
70	An inscription in the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften attests to the presence of Varus in Pergamon. It was presumably erected for an act of generosity on his part to the citizens: http://www.lwl.org/varus-download/presse_imperium/Presseinformation_I_eng.pdf
71	Suetonius, <i>Tiberius</i> 8.
72	Pliny the Younger, <i>Epistulae</i> 7.31.
73	Velleius Paterculus 2.97.2–3; he writes in effusive, even sycophantic, terms about Tiberius throughout Book 2.
74	Dio 50.26; Plutarch, <i>Antonios</i> 31; Kokkinos 1992, p. 11.
75	Plutarch, <i>Antonios</i> 87.3; Valerius Maximus 4.3.3; see also Karin Goethert-Polaschek, <i>Studien zur Ikonographie der Antonia Minor</i> , <i>Studia archaeologica</i> , 15, L'erma di Bretschneider, Rome, 1973; Kokkinos 2002, p. 28.
76	Kokkinos 2002, p. 11 suggests 19 or 18 BCE.
77	Kokkinos 2002, p. 11.
78	Carcopino 1940, p. 81.
79	Kokkinos 2002, p. 11.
80	Balsdon 1969, p. 66; Paoli 1963, p. 116.
81	Kokkinos 2002, p. 11, citing Krinagoras, <i>Anthology</i> 6.345; cf 9.239.

- 82 Carcopino 1940, pp. 81–82;
Paoli 1963, pp. 116–117.
- 83 Carcopino 1940, pp. 81–82;
Paoli 1963, pp. 116–117.
- 84 Carcopino 1940, pp. 81–82;
Paoli 1963, pp. 116–117.
- 85 Kokkinos 2002, p. 11, citing
Krinagoras, *Anthology* 6.244.

Chapter 2: Drusus the Soldier

- 1 Velleius Paterculus 2.97.1.
- 2 Florus 2.30.24.
- 3 Florus 4.24–25.
- 4 Strabo 7.1.4.
- 5 Strabo 7.1.4; Augustus, *Res Gestae* 6.32.
- 6 Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 4.4, 4.7.
- 7 Dio 54.20; Velleius Paterculus 2.92.1.
- 8 Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 23.1.
- 9 Dio 54.20.6.
- 10 Dio 54.20.6.
- 11 Earlier in the year Augustus had adopted Agrippa's sons Caius (then three years old) and Lucius (just months old) and, quite likely, they suggested he should devote time to them in Rome.
- 12 Dio 54.20.6.
- 13 Dio 54.20.6.
- 14 Dio 54.19.4–6; Richard C. Beacham, *Spectacle Entertainments of Early Imperial Rome*, Yale, 1999, p. 13.
- 15 Dio 54.19.5–6.
- 16 Dio 54.2.4.
- 17 Beacham 1999, pp. 114–115.
- 18 Beacham 1999, pp. 115–117; the programme of events is preserved on an inscription, *CIL* 6.32323, found in 1890.
- 19 Beacham 1999, p. 122; S. Shadrake, *The World of the*

	<i>Gladiator</i>, Stroud, 2005, pp. 106–7. Dio 54.19.5–6; Suetonius, <i>Divus Augustus</i> 29.5; Suetonius, <i>Caligula</i> 18.1. <i>Ludi</i> were held in the Circus Maximus in 13 BCE during a spectacle in which “six hundred wild beasts from Africa” were hunted and slain to celebrate Augustus’ birthday and that of Iullus, Antonius’ son who was the presiding praetor; cf. Dio 54.26.1–2.
20	Shadrake 2005, p. 101 and pp. 112–5.
21	Enjoying the patronage and favour of M. Antonius, T. Statilius Taurus gradually came over to Octavianus’ side following the war against Sex. Pompeius, liberating Sicilia and Africa in the process for which he was awarded a triumph in 34 BCE, then the campaign in Illyricum. At Actium he finally switched sides and helped clinch victory for Octavianus. He was dispatched to deal with the Astures, Cantabri and Vaccaeii whom he defeated in 29 BCE. In 26 BCE he was made consul with Augustus. Statilius Taurus was famous for erecting the first stone amphitheatre in Rome in 29 BCE.
22	Suetonius, <i>Divus Augustus</i> 44.3–4.
23	Beacham 1999, p. 115.
24	For a detailed description of the different types of gladiators see Shadrake 2005, pp. 127–211.
25	Estimates are based on known contests by Georges Ville cited by Shadrake 2005, p. 95.

- 26 Agrippa was away in Syria and Maecenas had fallen out of favour: Dio 54.19.6.
- 27 Barrett 2002, p. 39.
- 28 Dio 54.18.6.
- 29 A.R. Burn, *Government of the Roman Empire*, London, 1952, p. 12; cf. Tiberius who had been granted the praetorian insignia in 19 BCE at the age of 23, hence Drusus was a year *younger* than his brother when similarly honoured and had still seen no military service.
- 30 Dio 54.19.7–8.
- 31 His bodyguard was the *Germani Corporis Custodes*: see B. Rankov, *The Praetorian Guard*, London, 1994, pp. 11–12.
- 32 Dio 54.25.4 notes Augustus' preference for nighttime arrivals.
- 33 Dio 54.25.1: he uses the plural form in Greek for each region.
- 34 As many as eight legions and almost as many auxiliary cohorts were likely still stationed there. These were *Legio I*, *Legio II Augusta*, *Legio IIII Macedonica*, *Legio V Alaudae* (operated in Asturias), *Legio VI Victrix* (operated in Asturias), *Legio VIII Hispana* (?), *Legio X Gemina* (operated in Asturias), *Legio XX Valeria Victrix* and speculatively *Legio XIV Gemina* and *Legio XXI Rapax*; supported by the auxiliary units *Ala II Gallorum*, *Cohors II Gallorum*, *Ala II Thracum Victrix Civium Romanorum*, *Cohors IV Thracum Aequitata*, *Ala Parthorum*, and *Ala Augusta*.
- 35 In 102 BCE, the Cimbri and

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Teutones from Denmark and northern Germany raided as far as the Italian peninsula before they were defeated by Gaius Marius at Aquae Sextiae (Aix-en-Provence) and Vercellae the following year. Lindsay Powell, "The Last Clash of the Cimbri and Romans: the Battle of Vercellae, 101 BC", in *AW*, 6.1 (2011), pp. 27–33.

Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 25.4.

Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 25.4.

Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 4.4; 6.35; the Germans used boats and rafts (*navibus ratibusatque*).

Hugh Elton, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire*, Bloomington, 1996, p. 4. Elton argues persuasively that the border of the Roman empire was an interlocking set of zones – judicial, military and political – that formed fuzzy areas rather than clear lines.

Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 1.2–29.

Suetonius, *Tiberius* 9.1. Lollius would later slander Tiberius when he was adjutant and guardian to Augustus' son Gaius: Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 12.2–3.

Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* 2.20.136ff. records their names from an inscription on the Tropaeum Alpium (La Turbie); see note 234. 43.

S.P. Mattern, *Rome and the Enemy: Imperial Strategy in the Principate*, Berkeley, 1999, p. 89. For examples of ancient historians' assessments see Dio 54.9.1 and Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 21.2.

44

J.A. North, "The Development of Roman Imperialism", *JRS* 71, 1981, p. 1; W. Harris, *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome 327–70 BC*, Oxford, 1979, p. 9–10 and p. 163; Cicero, *De Officiis* 2.45.

45

Harris 1979, p. 105; Cicero, *De Officiis* 1.36 and 1.38.

46

Livy 1.24.4–9.

47

Harris 1979, pp. 166–175.

48

Livy 1.32.13.

49

Livy 1.32.13–14.

50

C.M. Wells, *The German Policy of Augustus: An Examination of the Archaeological Evidence*, Oxford, 1972, p. 246; R. Wolters, *Römische Eroberung und Herrschaftsorganisation in Gallien und Germanien*, 1990, pp. 134–228.

51

Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.278–283, translated by John Dryden: "*His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono; / imperium sine fine dedi. Quin aspera Iuno, / quae mare nunc terrasque metu caelumque fatigat, / consilia in melius referet, mecumque fovebit / Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam: / sic placitum*".

52

Florus 4.30.22: "*Sed quatenus sciebat patrem suum C. Caesarem bis transvectum ponte Rhenum quaesisse bellum, in illius honorem concupierant facere provinciam; et factum erat, si barbari tam vitia nostra quam imperia ferre potuisset*".

53

Horace, *Carmina* 1.35.29ff.

54

Illyricum stretched from the River Drilon (northern Albania) to Istria (Croatia) in the west and to the River Sava (Bosnia

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and Herzegovina) in the north. It was the location of revolts throughout Augustus' reign – as Octavianus he had himself campaigned there in 35–33 BCE. E.S. Gruen, "The Expansion of the Empire under Augustus," in *CAH*, p. 169; Dio 54.20.1; *Legio VIII Hispana* could have been part of the campaign as it may have been stationed in Aquileia or Siscia.

56

Eutropius, 7.9.1.

57

Gruen, *CAH*, p. 169; Dio 54.20.1; Strabo, 4.6.8.

58

Augustan military strategy in the region: Rainer Wiegels, "Von der Niederlage des M. Lollius bis zur Niederlage des Varus: Die roemische Germanienpolitik in der Zeit des Augustus," in Helmuth Schneider (ed.), *Feindliche Nachbarn: Rom und die Germanen*, Köln, 2008, pp. 54–60. Military installations in the Alps: Wells 1972, p. 247, states Zürich – with advanced watchtowers in the Walensee – was established before 20 BCE, while Basel, Oberwinterthur and Windisch (which became the fortress of Vindonissa after 9 CE) were founded between 20 BCE and 15 BCE. On the military significance of the Alps to the Romans: Gerold Walser, *Studien sur Alpengeschichte in antiker Zeit*, Stuttgart, 1994, pp. 9–43. Military presence of legions: recent surface finds of lead slingshot place *Legiones* III, X and XII in the vicinity of Tiefencastel by the Septimer

59

Pass, Switzerland in the first century BCE; J. Ragoth, *JbSGU* 86 (2003), pp. 247–248; *JbSGU* 86 (2003), pp. 247–248; *JbSGU* 88 (2005), pp. 302–311.

On Raetic see J.P. Mallory, *In Search of Indo-Europeans: Language, Archaeology and Myth*, London, 1989, p. 89.

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Dio 54.22.2: the invocation of the supernatural seems designed to mark the behaviour of the Raeti out as particularly wicked and inhuman.

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J.F. Drinkwater, *Roman Gaul*, London, 1983, p. 122.

62

Augustus, *Res Gestae* 1.3.

63

See note 34.

64

Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 21.

65

The movement and reconstitution of the legions after Actium in 31 BCE makes identifying which units took part in Augustan campaigns with any certainty very difficult: see Jona Lendering's excellent series of summary histories of the Roman legions at <http://www.livius.org/le-lh/legio/legions.htm> [URL inactive]. *Legio XIV Gemina* moved from Aquitania or northern Italy (formerly Gallia Transpadana), and from 9 CE settled in Mogontiacum, the winter camp it shared with *Legio XVI Gallica*. *Legio XVI Gallica* had been on the Rhine since 12 BCE, possibly transferred from Aquitania or Gallia Belgica, but that is speculative. *Legio XXI Rapax*, speculatively moved from Hispania to Raetia, where it may have been based at

Dangstetten presumably after the Raetian War in 15 BCE and *Legio* XIX evacuated it when relocated to the Rhine. *Legio* XIII *Gemina*, stationed in Illyricum or northern Italy, went to Raetia and Noricum in 15 BCE, thence to Iulia Aemona (Emona-Ljubljana) in Pannonia (Slovenia), but the presence of soldiers at Nijmegen in Belgica is suggested by a graffito on a sherd and on an inscription on a helmet.

Evidence for Roman army camps of this period is remarkably sparse. During his campaigns Caesar occupied the *oppida* of the native Gallic Celts, such as at Bibracte. There may have been a camp at Mediolanum Santonum (Saintes) where evidence of a base has been found at Aulnay-de-Saintonge dated to 21 CE and abandoned by 43, or at Arlaine on an axis linking Reims, Soissons and Amiens; or speculatively at Andemantunnum (Langres) among the Lingones at the crossroads to Gesoriacum (Boulogne) at the English Channel, or Oppidum Ubiorum on the Rhine. The extensive base of *Legio* VIII *Augusta* at Mirebeau near Dijon was founded much later in Flavian times. Several bridges were constructed in the process, which would have consumed considerable numbers of men and resources. See C. Goudineau, "Gaul," in *CAH*,

- 1996, p. 490. On Langres, see Eberhard Sauer, "The Augustan coins from Bourbonne-les-Bains (Haute-Marne): A mathematical approach to dating a coin assemblage," *Revue Numismatique*, 1999, vol. 6, issue 154, p. 154 and pp. 170–171.
- 67 Ramsay MacMullen, *Romanization in the Time of Augustus*, Yale, 2000, p. 102.
- 68 Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 25.
- 69 Dio 54.19.6.
- 70 Wells 1972, p. 66, footnote 4, suggests one candidate could have been Calpurnius Piso who might, in the event, have led one of the legions.
- 71 Velleius Paterculus 2.97.2: "*cura deinde atque onus Germanici belli delegata, Druso Claudio*"; Eutropius 7.9.3: "*hoc tamen bellum per Drusum, privignum suum, administravit*".
- 72 An unproven assertion by T. Mommsen, *A History of Rome under the Emperors*, London, 1996, p. 106.
- 73 Walser 1994, pp. 28–29. Raymond Chevalier, *Roman Roads*, London, 1976, pp. 135–137, map 28; Gruen, *CAH*, p. 169. Hunt 1998: in 1994 the Stanford Alpine Archaeology Project began research to examine Alpine Roman Roads in the Grand-St-Bernard pass between Aosta, Italy and Martigny, Switzerland, bringing together years of research in the area, published in *Alpine Archaeology*, 2007.
- 74 Livy 21.38 states that Penninus

was the name of the god to whom the local people had erected a shrine on top of the mountain.

75

Alpes Cottiae was a Roman client-kingdom of Ligurian royalty, one of three small independent states straddling the western Alps between modern France and Italy. Its name survives in the Cottian Alps. Plutarch, *Marius* 19 notes the Ligurians called themselves Ambrones, which means ‘people of the water’.

76

Livy 21.38; Polybius 34.10; Vergil, *Aeneid* 10.15ff.

77

Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 1.11: in 58 BCE, Caesar picked this as “the shortest route to Further Gaul over the Alps” departing Ocelum “the westernmost village in Nearer Gaul” and reached the Vocontii on the west bank of the Rhone in six days.

78

On the dynasty of Cottius see C. Letta, “La dinastia dei Cozii e la romanizzazione delle Alpi occidentali”, *Athenaeum* 54, 1976, pp. 37–76: King Donnus, or C. Iulius Donnus, was an opportunistic Ligurian who saw his way to longevity by siding with Iulius Caesar during his wars of conquest, whose reward for picking the right side led to his grant of Roman citizen. See D.C. Braund, *Rome and the Friendly King: The Character of Client Kingship*, Beckenham, 1984, p. 40 who cites an inscription, *CIL* 5.7232, carved for his freedman and

79

freedwoman which preserves the fact of their former master's name.

Ammianus Marcellinus 15.10, 2; Chevalier 1976, p. 49 cites one of the so-called Vicarello goblets listing the crossing as “*in Alpe Cottia*”. Cottius may have charged users of the road a toll just as the Salassi did when travellers passed through their country at a rate of one *drachma* per head, most famously Decimus Brutus who was fleeing from Mutina in 43 BCE: Strabo 4.6.7.

80

Chevalier 1976, p. 160.

81

Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 50, states that the *princeps*' first personal seal for written correspondence was a sphinx, replaced by an intaglio of Alexander the Great, and lastly by his own profile engraved by Dioscurides, which was still used by his successors.

82

A *legio* is approximately equivalent to a brigade or “large regiment” in the British and Canadian armies or a division in the US Army, though a division may number 10,000–20,000 men, which is substantially more than a legion.

83

Dio 55.23.1 lists 23 legions but omits the three lost at *saltus Teutoburgiensis* during the *Bellum Varianum/clades Variana* of 9 CE.

84

G.R. Watson, *The Roman Soldier*, London, 1969, p. 31. The legions did not need to conscript men during the period of Drusus' campaigns. See

85

Chapter 1, note 71 about abuses of unwilling volunteers and deserters investigated by Tiberius as a *quaestor* in 23 BCE. The statistic is based on studies of tombstones dated to the Principate of Augustus through Caligula by G. Forni who identified the origin of 215 men as Italian compared to 134 as coming from the Provinces: of the Provinces 31 individuals or 9 per cent came originally from Gallia Narbonensis – cited in Y. Le Bohec, *The Imperial Roman Army*, London, 1994, Table 16, p. 83.

86

Le Bohec 1994, p. 37; Lawrence Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army*, London, 1984, p. 176.

87

Nic Fields, *The Roman Army of the Principate 27 BC – AD 117*, Oxford, 2009, p. 34; Keppie, p. 176; Le Bohec, p. 38.

88

Fields 2009, p. 34; Le Bohec 1994, p. 39; Keppie 1984, p. 176, notes the earliest recorded evidence for the rank of *praefectus castrorum* that has come down to us dates to 11 CE, and it was not in existence in the late Republic, though Keppie states on p. 99 that there is mention of a *praefectus fabrum* responsible for engineering in Republican legions, but no mention of the title in Caesar's own accounts (see note 90).

89

Tacitus, *Annales* 12.38.3, 13.39.2.

90

Keppie 1984, p. 177: an aide-de-camp, *praefectus fabrum*, assisted the legate in the field.

91

Le Bohec 1994, p. 39.

92

Le Bohec 1994, p. 39.

93

The *centuria* is broadly equivalent to a company in the Australian, British and US armies. Most companies are formed of three to five platoons although the exact number may vary by country, unit type, and structure: see note 95.

94

In practice with nightwatch duties, fewer would sleep in the goatskin or leather tent at a time. The British Army section now consists of eight soldiers, while in the Australian army under the new structure of the infantry platoon sections are made up of eight men divided into two four man fire-teams. In the United States Army, a squad consists of two fireteams of four or five soldiers each, as well as a squad leader.

95

The *centurio* should be thought of as a company commander, Keppie 1984, p. 179.

96

The name of one of the most notorious centurions to have come down to us is Lucilius whom his men nicknamed “*cedo alteram*” – ‘old gimme another’ – for his habit of striking the back of a soldier with his vinestaff so hard that it would shatter, and immediately demanding a replacement: Tacitus, *Annales* 1.23.

97

Keppie 1984, p. 179.

98

Fields 2009, p. 36 cites *adoptandum*; Varro, *de Lingua Latina* 5.91; Festus 201.23.

99

Watson 1969, pp. 77–86, 92.

100

Watson 1969, p. 52 and p. 79.

- 101 Keppie 1984, p. 98; a *cohors* is approximately equivalent to a battalion in the British, Canadian and US armies.
- 102 In battle, each *tribunus angusticlavius* commanded two cohorts or 1,000 men: Le Bohec 1994, p. 39 citing *CIL* 5.2637, though Keppie 1984, p. 176 sees no specific unit command for the five *tribuni*.
- 103 These were named according to their battle positions, from the rear the *pilani* (*triarii* or ‘third rank men’), *principes* (‘chief men’) and the men of the main battle line *hastate* (‘spear men’), Fields 2009, p. 34; Keppie 1984, p. 20.
- 104 Fields 2009, p. 34; Keppie 1984, p. 174.
- 105 Keppie 1984, p. 173.
- 106 Plutarch, *Marius* 19.
- 107 Keppie 1984, p. 179: completion of the year promoted the man into the *ordo equestris* and made him eligible for promotion to *praefectus castrorum*. Rotating out the *primus pilus* annually created the incentive for other centurions to perform well in the hope of being rewarded with promotion.
- 108 Keppie 1984, p. 179, cites the ground plan of the excavated Roman fortress at Inchtuthil in Scotland as evidence.
- 109 The decorative backing disc of an *imago* was found at Newstead, the site of Trimontium Roman fort, and is on display at The Scottish National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh: see photo in

- 110 Fields, p. 37.
Watson 1969, p. 44–50; for an example of the *sacramentum*, see AE 1988, 723.
- 111 The image of the *princeps* from Augustus – and of his successors – on the silver, bronze and brass coins in which the troops were paid also significantly asserted his ubiquitous presence.
- 112 Keppie 1984, pp. 181–182.
- 113 Watson 1969, pp. 38–42.
- 114 Dio 55.24.8.
- 115 Le Bohec 1994, p. 224.
- 116 Le Bohec 1994, p. 121.
- 117 This style of helmet is called ‘Montefortino F’ by historians of arms and military equipment: M.C. Bishop, *Roman Military Equipment*, second edition, Oxford, 2006, pp. 101–102 and fig. 59.
- 118 Helmets of this style include the ‘Coolus C’ and ‘Imperial Gallic A’ as classified by historians of Roman arms and military equipment: Bishop 2006, pp. 101–102 and fig. 59. For an attempt at an ‘evolution of the legionary helmet of the first century AD’ see Peter Connolly, *The Roman Army*, London, 1975, p. 49.
- 119 Mail or link armour appears to have been issued to Roman troops from the time of Marius on: Bishop 2005, p. 63 and p. 96 and fig. 51. It is believed to have been borrowed and adapted from the Gauls: see the sculpture known as ‘the Vechères warrior’ in the Musée Calvet, Avignon, France, reproduced in Graham Sumner,

Roman Military Dress, Stroud, 2009, fig. 111. Discussion continues among military historians about whether leather armour was used as an alternative to mail or scale or hammered bronze. The crux of the issue is how to interpret carved stele and tombstones which are the main source of representations and which would have been painted in Roman times but the paint of which has not survived: for a review of the arguments, see Raffaele D'Amato and Graham Sumner, *Arms and Armour of the Imperial Roman Soldier: From Marius to Commodus*, Barnsley, 2009, pp. 135–137.

120

Connolly 1975, p. 55: based on experiments conducted by the Ermine Street Guard, it takes around 200 hours to assemble a mail suit, and that of a simpler type that does not require riveting the alternate rows. The finished mail shirt weighs around 11.8kg (26lb) and the weight is largely borne by the shoulders from which the shirt, in effect, hangs. My thanks to Chris Haines MBE for confirming the weight of this and other forms of body armour below.

121

The scale armour shirt is made of small metal scales of copper alloy measuring 1–5cm in length, each scale having four punched side-link holes and one lacing hole at the top so that it could be sewn on a linen or leather backing material in

	overlapping rows. This type of armour weighs 13.2kg (29lbs). Bishop 2005, pp. 95–97 and fig. 54. D’Amato and Sumner 2009: bronze scale armour: pp. 123–128; bone/ivory scale armour: pp. 141–142.
122	D’Amato and Sumner 2009: muscled cuirass: pp. 38–43 and pp. 122–123.
123	The term <i>lorica segmentata</i> – by which it is commonly known today – is a recent invention: the name coined by the Romans for it has not survived.
124	Bishop 2005, pp. 95–100 and figs. 55 and 57. D’Amato and Sumner 2009: metal banded armour: pp. 130–134; leather banded armour: pp. 141–144.
125	Reconstructions by the Ermine Street Guard prove the versatility of the articulated segmented plate armour. It weighs around 9.9kg (22lbs).
126	M.C. Bishop, <i>Lorica Segmentata Volume 1: A Handbook of Articulated Plate Armour</i> , Duns, 2002, p. 23.
127	Bishop 2005, pp. 106–109 and fig. 62.
128	Bishop 2005, pp. 109–110 and fig. 63.
129	Bishop 2005, pp. 83–88 and figs. 42, 43, 44 and 45.
130	Bishop 2005, pp. 78–83 and figs. 39, 40 and 41; Connolly 1975, p. 51; Fields 2009, p. 29. Two of the most complete examples are the famous ‘Sword of Tiberius’ and ‘Fulham Sword’ in the possession of the British Museum: see Fields 2009, p. 45 and p. 30 respectively.

- 131 Bishop 2005, pp. 61–62 and fig. 30; cf. pp. 91–94 and figs. 49 and 50.
- 132 The later version was fully rectangular which greatly facilitated close fitting formations like the *cuneus* or *testudo*.
- 133 Bishop 2005, p. 92 and fig. 49.
- 134 Bishop 2005, p. 61 and fig. 30.
- 135 Bishop 2005, p. 92 and fig. 50.
- 136 Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* 2.37. Watson 1969, pp. 54–57.
- 137 Le Bohec 1994, p. 113; Watson 1969, p. 57. An example of a practice wooden sword dating to the first century CE is on display at the Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery, Carlisle, England and was found at the nearby Roman fort.
- 138 Bishop 2005, pp. 73–76 and figs. 36 and 37; Watson 1969, p. 58–59, citing Polybius 6.23.8 and Caesar *Bellum Gallicum* 1.25.
- 139 Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 1.41: Caesar employed 900 native Gallic cavalry as his bodyguard.
- 140 Adrian K. Goldsworthy, *The Roman Army at War 100 BC – AD 200*, Oxford, 1996, p. 71, suggests that it was not until Tiberius became emperor that unit names were formalised and that up to that time locally recruited *auxilia* fought under their own commanders to whom they remained loyal, and were called the ‘unit of such-and-such’, e.g. *Ala Scaevae* or Scaeva’s Wing.
- 141 Goldsworthy 1996, p. 19; N.J.E. Austin and N.B. Rankov,

- Exploratio: *Military and Political Intelligence in the Roman World from the Second Punic War to the Battle of Adrianople*, London, 1995, pp. 40–43, citing Caesar, *Bellum Civile* 3.38.2; Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 7.56.4, Polybius 3.41.8–9 and Tacitus, *Historiae* 3.52.
- 142 Fields 2009, pp. 14–15.
- 143 Fields 2009, pp. 16–17.
- 144 Fields 2009, p. 18.
- 145 Fields 2009, p. 20–21; Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 7.65.5, 8.36.4; Tacitus, *Germania* 6.
- 146 Fields 2009, p. 22 and Keppie 1984, p. 150 cite *ILS* 2690 as evidence.
- 147 Le Bohec 1994, p. 219.
- 148 Scenes VII and VIII shown as plates IX and X in Frank Lepper and Sheppard Frere, *Trajan's Column*, Gloucester, 1988.
- 149 Le Bohec 1994, pp. 49–50 and p. 239.
- 150 One of the best surveys of Roman officers' equipment is D'Amato and Sumner 2009: *parazonium*: pp. 92–95; Attic helmet: pp. 111–112; muscled cuirass and greaves: pp. 38–43 and pp. 122–123; garments worn under a muscled cuirass: pp. 143–149; *paludamentum*: p. 54 and p. 145 (fig. 195).
- 151 For an example, see Agricola's address before the Battle of Mons Graupius, 84 CE in Tacitus, *Agricola* 33–4; and the address of Emperor Hadrian to the troops of *Legio III Augusta* at Lambaesis, Numidia in 128 CE survives in an inscription, *ILS* 2487.

- 152 *Bellum Alpinum*: see Ancient Sources – the *via Claudia Augusta* milestone from Cesiomaggiore at Feltre (*CIL* 5.8002; *ILS* 208) was discovered in 1786 near the Villa Tauro alle Centenère; and the other was discovered in 1552 at Rablà (*CIL* 5.8003) near Merano (South Tirol, Italy) – Czysz *et al.* 2005, p. 528 fig. 232. *Bellum Noricum*: Florus 2.22.
- 153 Dio 54.22.3.
- 154 For the range of competing theses see Wells 1972, pp. 59–79.
- 155 Strabo 4.6.8; Augustus, *Res Gestae* 5.26; Horace, *Carmina* 4.14.10ff. P. Silius Nerva had already subdued the three eastern Alpine tribes the previous year: Dio 54.20.1–2. Strabo 4.6.9.
- 156 Florus 2.22 (drawing from
- 157 Livy’s now lost account); Strabo 4.6.8; Horace, *Carmina* 4.14.34ff.
- 158 *CIL* 5.8002 (Cesamaggiore), 8003 (Rablan); Walser 1994, p. 30.
- 159 Goldsworthy 1996, p. 131, citing Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 4.23 and 7.45. *Consilia* are mentioned in Josephus, *Jewish War* 3.161–162; 4.366–378; 5.491–502; 6.236–243.
- 160 Cf. Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 1.41; Caesar had scouts a full day’s ride away who intercepted his enemy under Ariovistus.
- 161 Frontinus, *Stratagemata* 2 and 8.
- 162 Velleius Paterculus 97.2–3: “*adulscenti tot tantarumque virtutum, quot et quantas natura*

163

mortalis receipt vel industria perficit. Cuius ingenium utrum bellicis magis operibus an civilibus suffecerit artibus, in incerto est". Velleius Paterculus 97.2–3: "morum certe dulcedo ac suavitas et adversus amicos aequa ac par sui aestimatio inimitabilis fuisse dicitur: nam pulchritudo corporis proxima fraternae fuit". The translators chose to use the phrase "unassuming demeanour" where the Latin "*sui aestimatio inimitabilis*" literally means 'just assessment of himself'.

164

Polybius 34.10.

165

Livy 5.33; Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* 3.24.20.

166

La Tène is a village on the northern shore of Lake Neuchâtel, Switzerland where a rich trove of distinctive Iron Age artifacts was discovered in 1857 by Hansli Kopp. It is generally believed that Celtic La Tène culture developed and flourished from 450 BC to the Roman conquest in the first century BCE and it has been identified in eastern France, Switzerland, Austria, southwest Germany, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary.

167

Livy 5.33.

168

Strabo 4.6.9.

169

Anne Ross, *Everyday Life of the Pagan Celts*, London, 1970, p. 44; Nora Chadwick, *The Celts*, London, 1970, p. 111 and p. 117.

170

Strabo 4.4.4.

171

Diodorus Siculus 5.31.2.

172

Diodorus Siculus 5.31.3.

173	Diodorus Siculus 5.31.5.
174	Caesar, <i>Bellum Gallicum</i> 6.13; Diodorus Siculus 5.31.3.
175	Chadwick 1970, p. 113 and p. 116.
176	Ross 1970, p. 46.
177	Ross 1970, p. 45.
178	Ross 1970, p. 13 and p. 82.
179	W.F. Ritchie, <i>Celtic Warriors</i> , Aylesbury, 1985, p. 14.
180	Diodorus Siculus 5.30.1. See chapter 5, note 143.
181	Strabo 4.4.3; Diodorus Siculus 5.30.1; Propertius 5.10.39.
182	Strabo 4.4.3.
183	Diodorus Siculus 5.30.1; Strabo 4.4.3.
184	Diodorus Siculus 5.30.3.
185	Peter Connolly, <i>Hannibal and the Enemies of Rome</i> , London, 1978, p. 65.
186	Diodorus Siculus 5.30.3; Simon James, <i>The World of the Celts</i> , London, 1993, p. 76.
187	Diodorus Siculus 5.30.2.
188	Diodorus Siculus 22.11.1. Strabo 4.4.3; Ritchie 1985, p. 38; Barry W. Cunliffe, <i>The Ancient Celts</i> , Oxford, 1997, p. 181: a well-preserved example survives from the Fayum oasis in Egypt where a detachment of Celtic mercenaries found a home in the third century BCE. Examples of different shield patterns are shown on the Roman triumphal arch at Orange, France and include crescents, circles, torcs, curling lines and rosettes.
189	The Pfatten helmet is on display at the South Tyrol Museum of Archaeology, Bolzano, Italy. Connolly places the design of

	helmet in position 11 in his evolution chart in Connolly, 1978, p. 62. Its design is similar to the helmet from Amfreveille, France, shown in James 1993, p. 76; and another from Agris, Charante, France on display at the Musée de la Société Archéologique et Historique de Charante, Angoulême shown in Cunliffe 1997, plate XIIIb.
190	Ritchie 1985, p. 47, fig. 26; cf. Diodorus Siculus 5.30.2.
191	Ritchie 1985, p. 49, fig. 29. The helmet is featured in a reconstruction of a Gallic warrior in Connolly 1978, p. 67; cf. the reconstruction of a Gallic warrior wearing a different style of helmet in Connolly, 1978, p. 65.
192	Strabo 4.4.3; Diodorus Siculus 5.30.4.
193	Diodorus Siculus 5.30.4.
194	Ritchie 1985, pp. 45–46 and fig. 25.
195	Diodorus Siculus 5.30.3; Strabo 4.4.3.
196	Strabo 4.4.3.
197	Ritchie 1985, pp. 41–45.
198	Polybius 2.30–31.
199	For a comparative chart of sword designs see Connolly 1978, p. 58.
200	Strabo 4.4.3.
201	Caesar, <i>Bellum Gallicum</i> 7.81.
202	Tim Newark, <i>Celtic Warriors 400 BC – AD 1600</i> , Poole, 1986, p. 15.
203	Polybius 3.114.
204	Polybius, <i>Fragment</i> 21; Polybius 3.65, 3.115.
205	Newark 1986, p. 15.
206	Pausanias 10.19.5.

207	Newark 1986, p. 17; Ritchie 1985, pp. 35–6.
208	Connolly 1975, pp. 60–1; 1978, pp. 56–7. For a fuller discussion of the design of the four-horned saddle design, see P. Connolly, “Experiments with the Roman Saddle,” <i>Exercitus: The Bulletin of the Ermine Street Guard</i> 2.5, pp. 71–76; and Peter Connolly, Carol van Driel-Murray, “The Roman Cavalry Saddle,” <i>Britannia</i> 22, 1991, pp. 33–50.
209	Newark 1986, p. 17.
210	The last recorded use of chariots by the Iron Age Celts on Continental Europe was at the Battle of Telamon in 225 BCE, James 1993, p. 78 and pp. 84–85.
211	Connolly 1978, p. 57: the Roman triumphal arch at Orange, France shows both types of standards.
212	Connolly 1978, p. 57: the head of a carnyx was found in Deskford, Scotland and has an upturned snout like a pig’s but large staring eyes like a fish’s.
213	Diodorus Siculus 5.30.3.
214	Velleius Paterculus 2.95.2.
215	Dio 54.22.3.
216	H. Wolff, “Raetia,” in <i>CAH</i> , p. 535: Tridentum (Trento) in northern Italy was an affluent <i>municipium Iulium</i> on the road to the Brenner and Reschen Passes. It is known to the English as Trent and famed for the Ecumenical Council of the Roman Catholic Church, which met there in the 16 th Century.
217	The Adige River is the second longest river in Italy.

- 218 The mountains include the Vigolana (2,150 metres), the Monte Bondone (2,181 metres), the Paganella (2,124 metres), the Marzola (1,747 metres) and the Monte Calisio (1,096 metres). Lakes nearby include the Lago di Caldonazzo, Lago di Levico, Lago di Garda and Lago di Toblino.
- 219 Diodorus Siculus 5.29.3, 5.31.1; Ritchie 1985, pp. 27–28.
- 220 Caesar marched his legions in three rows (*triplex acies*) to cover ground quickly and reduce exposing his army to the high risk of ambush in hostile territory, see Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 4.14.
- 221 N.J.E. Austin and N.B. Rankov, *Exploratio: Military and Political Intelligence in the Roman World from the Second Punic War to the Battle of Adrianople*, London, 1995, p. 45, citing Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 1.41.5 and 1.21.1; cf. 1.15.5.
- 222 Le Bohec 1994, p. 107.
- 223 Ross Cowan, *Roman Legionary 58 BC – AD 69*, Oxford, 2003, p. 20.
- 224 Cowan 2003, p. 23.
- 225 Tacitus, *Agricola* 35.
- 226 Caesar, *Bellum Africum* 75; Goldsworthy 1996, p. 146.
- 227 Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 25.
- 228 Diodorus Siculus 5.29.4.
- 229 Diodorus Siculus 5.29.5.
- 230 Dio 54.22.3.
- 231 Wells 1972, p. 62, unequivocally proposes Drusus split his forces and used both passes.
- 232 Gruen, *CAH*, p. 170; W. Cyszcz et

233

al., *Römer in Bayern*, Düsseldorf, 2005, pp. 528–532: the course of the later *via Claudia Augusta* opened in 50 CE tends to confirm the route: it connected Altinum (Altino) on the Adriatic coast and the broad valley of the Padus (River Po) to Tridentum, running northwards following the Athesis (Adige or Etsch River) up to Pons Drusi, the “bridge of Drusus” (modern Bolzano), continuing on towards Maia (near Meran), and crossing over the Reschen Pass. From the pass it descended through the valleys of the Inn River and the Lech, and over the Fern Pass to Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg), with an extension to Summuntorum, a town on the Danube near Donauwörth. The Romans did not build a road through the Brenner Pass until the second century CE: it went through the Pustertal, crossed the Brenner and descended from there to Veldidena (Wilten), where it crossed the Inn River and then the Zirler Berg towards Partenkirchen, finally arriving at Augusta Vindelicorum.

234

The Venostes are listed among the 46 Alpine nations conquered by the Romans on the *Tropaeum Alpium* (La Turbie), Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* 3.133ff.

235

Chevalier 1976, p. 137. Pons Drusi is mentioned in the fourth century itinerary known as the *Tabula Peutingeriana* or Peutinger Table.

236

Approximately 240 kilometres;

	a Roman <i>milia</i> equates to 1,478 metres.
237	Polybius 34.10.
238	For the hazard posed to transport by narrow passes, see Caesar, <i>Bellum Gallicum</i> 1.6.
239	P. Erdkamp, "War and State Formation in the Roman Republic," in <i>CRA</i> , 2007, p. 104.
240	J.P. Roth, <i>The Logistics of the Roman Army at War (264 BC – AD 235)</i> , Boston, 1999, p. 284. Examples of the <i>carrus</i> with eight-spoke wheels are depicted on Trajan's Column in scenes XXXVIII and XLIX.
241	Erdkamp, <i>CRA</i> , 2007, p. 103.
242	P. Herz, "Finances and Costs of the Roman Army," in <i>CRA</i> , p. 317.
243	P. Kehne, "War- and Peacetime Logistics: Supplying Imperial Armies in East and West," in <i>CRA</i> , p. 328.
244	At 410 kilometres (250 miles) in length, the Adige is the second longest river in Italy, after the Po at 652 kilometres (405 miles).
245	Florus 2.22: he seems disinclined to see it as a desperate last act of defiance in the defence of their homeland, but it may also be a Roman stereotype of the barbarian intended to portray the Raeti as uncivilised savages.
246	Suetonius, <i>Divus Augustus</i> 49.3, mentions that the <i>princeps</i> established posting stations with carts or wagons (<i>vehicula</i>) to replace young men (<i>iuvenes</i>) as relay runners, who not only

	delivered the messages but could find themselves interrogated about their contents. The remains of a coaching inn were found 28 kilometers southwest of Biberwier at Strad near Tarrenz, Austria in 1997 along the route of the <i>via Claudia Augusta</i> : http://www.fwf.ac.at/de/ abstracts/abstract.asp? L = D&PROJ = P21342 [URL inactive]
247	Dio 54.22.3.
248	Dio 54.22.3.
249	Velleius Paterculus 2.95.1.
250	Velleius Paterculus 2.95.1.
251	A luggage label with his name scratched on it was found at Dangstetten, http:// www.lwl.org/varus-download/ presse_imperium/ Pressinformation_VII_EN.pdf
252	Caesar, <i>Bellum Gallicum</i> 1.6.
253	Wells 1972, p. 67.
254	Strabo 4.3.3 mentions that part of the territory in which the Raeti and Vindelici lived was marshland and near a lake that fed the Rhine.
255	Velleius Paterculus 2.95.2.
256	Dio 54.22.3.
257	Velleius Paterculus 2.95.2.
258	Dio 54.22.4 simply mentions that Tiberius crossed “the lake” without specifying which one: the footnote in the Heinemann/ Loeb translation on p. 339 identifies this lake as Lacus Venetus (Lake Garda), which was first recorded by Pomponius Mela around 43 CE in his <i>De Chorographia</i> . The identification with this lake puts

the site of the battle back in the vicinity of Tridentum. However, other commentators associate Dio's location with Bodensee (Lake Constance to the English), but equally if he had been following the course of the River Rhône from Lugdunum it would have taken him to Lake Geneva. Lake Geneva is the largest natural freshwater lake in Western Europe at 582km². All that can safely be said is that the ancient sources are too obscure to make a definite identification of the lake in question.

259 Livy, *Periochae* 138.

260 Strabo 4.6.8.

261 Dio 54.22.5.

262 Walser 1994, pp. 35–43.

Alpinorum: Cohors I Alpinorum

Peditata, Cohors I Alpinorum

Equitata, Cohors II Alpina,

Cohors II Alpinorum Equitata.

Raetorum: Cohors Raetorum,

Cohors I Raetorum, Cohors II

Raetorum, Cohors II Raetorum c.

R., Cohors IV Raetorum Equitata,

Cohors V Raetorum, Cohors VI

Raetorum and Cohors VII

Raetorum Equitata c.R.

263 Strabo 4.6.8.

264 Strabo 4.6.8: he also mentions among the tribal group the Estiones and Brigantii.

265 Strabo 4.6.8.

266 Wolff, *CAH*, 1996, p. 537;

Strabo 4.6.8: Strabo uses the word *poleis* by which he is likely referring to fortified hilltops, the Latin for which is *oppidum*. The capital of the Brigantii was Brigantium, of the Estiones was

- Cambodunum and of the Licatii was Damasia. Manching had already been abandoned by the time of the Norican War: Wells 1972, pp. 72–74.
- 267 Strabo 4.6.8: Strabo classifies the Genauni as Illyrici not Raeti.
- 268 Peter Inker, *Caesar's Gallic Triumph: Alesia 52 BC*, Barnsley, 2008, pp. 47–115.
- 269 Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 7.67–89.
- 270 Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 7.73.
- 271 Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 7.18–31.
- 272 Tracey Rihill, *The Catapult*, Yardley, 2007, pp. 176–196.
- 273 Rihill 2007, p. 215, fig. 9.10 shows Scene LXVI on Trajan's Column which shows two legionaries operating a catapult in a timber 'gun emplacement'. Trajan's Column scene XL shows a cart-mounted catapult.
- 274 Suetonius, *Vespasian* 4.1–2.
- 275 The section of *vertebrae* with an iron bolt lodged in them is on display in the archaeology gallery of the Dorset County Museum, Dorchester, England.
- 276 Velleius Paterculus 2.95.2, "*multis urbium et castellorum oppugnationibus*".
- 277 Horace, *Carmina* 4.14.34–38: Alexandria fell to Octavianus in 30 CE. Denis Feeny, *Caesar's Calender: Ancient Time and the Beginnings of History*, Berkeley, 2007, p. 159 notes Horace uses the expression "*quod die*" and ties it to the concept of 'sacred time' (1 Sextilis – the month was later renamed after Augustus).

278	Cunliffe 1997, pp. 217–218.
279	Caesar, <i>Bellum Gallicum</i> 1.53.
280	Gerhard Herm, <i>The Celts: The People Who Came Out of the Darkness</i> , New York, 1977, p. 199.
281	<i>Ferrum Noricum</i> is mentioned in Horace, <i>Carmina</i> 1.16.9, Ovid, <i>Metamorphoses</i> 14,712, Pliny the Elder, <i>Naturalis Historia</i> 34.145 and Strabo, <i>Geography</i> , 5.1.8. G. Alföldy, <i>Noricum</i> , London, 1974, pp. 113–116 <i>et passim</i> .
282	Cunliffe 1997, p. 218: the remains of Virunum lie in Zollfeld in the Austrian state of Carinthia.
283	Barry W. Cunliffe, <i>Oxford Illustrated Prehistory of Europe</i> , Oxford, 1994, pp. 426–427; Alföldy 1974, pp. 62–77.
284	Presumably through their kin the Carni and Taurisci who lived in the vicinity of the Roman city: Polybius 34.10; Strabo 4.6.9.
285	Florus 2.22.
286	Strabo 4.6.8: he notes they were still pacified at the time he was writing his <i>Geography</i> , 33 years later; Livy, <i>Periochae</i> 138.
287	Augustus, <i>Res Gestae</i> 5.26 translated by Thomas Bushnell, 1998 with permission; see also Suetonius, <i>Divus Augustus</i> 21.
288	Paul Zanker, <i>The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus</i> , Ann Arbor, 1988, pp. 225–226. Gold <i>aureus</i> : RIC 164a, C. 132, BMCRE 443. Silver <i>denarius</i> : RIC 165b, C. 135, BMCRE 448. The branches look almost like branches from pine trees, which would be appropriate for the

289	Alps.
290	Zanker 1988, pp. 183–192.
291	Zanker 1988, pp. 223–225.
292	Everitt 2006, p. 202.
293	<i>Denarius</i> : RIC 52, 171a, C. 144.
294	Ovid, <i>Tristia</i> 3.1.46. For Drusus and Tiberius as examples of Roman heroes, see Anne Rogerson, University of Cambridge <i>Heroes Today: Creating a Champion with Horace</i> (Odes 4.4), presented at the 135th Annual Meeting of the American Philological Association (APA) in San Francisco, California, January 3, 2004.
295	Ronald Syme, <i>History in Ovid</i> , Oxford, 1978, p. 154.
296	Horace, <i>Carmina</i> 4.14.1–13 in translation by John Conington: “ <i>Quae cura patrum quaeue Quiritium / plenis honorum muneribus tuas, / Auguste, uirtutes in aeuum / per titulos memoresque fastus / aeternet, o qua sol habitabilis / inlustrat oras maxime principum? / quem legis expertes Latinae / Vindelici didicere nuper / quid Marte posses. Milite nam tuo / Drusus Genaunos, inplacidum genus, / Breunosque uelocis et arces / Alpibus impositas tremendis / deiecit acer plus uice simplici</i> ”.
297	Horace, <i>Carmina</i> 4.4.73–76 in translation by John Conington: “ <i>Nil Claudiae non perficient manus, / quas et benigno numine Iuppiter / defendit et curae sagaces / expediunt per acuta belli</i> ” – compare Horace’s lofty praise to Theodor Mommsen’s derision, 1996, p. 109.

298	Wells 1972, p. 67.
299	Wells 1972, pp. 57–58 and pp. 74–89; Rüger, <i>CAH</i> , map 9, pp. 518–519 and map 10, p. 536.
300	Wells 1972, pp. 78–79 and note 4: the assertion that Legio XXI was based at Regina Castra (Regensburg), ‘fortress by the River Regen’, seems wrong for this time. Castra Regina was built in 179 CE for <i>Legio III Italica</i> during the reign of Emperor Marcus Aurelius.
301	Czysz <i>et al.</i> 2005, pp. 490–491.
302	Catapult bolt: W. Zanier, “Eine römische Katapultpfeilspitze der 19. Legion aus Oberammergau: Neues zum Alpenfeldzug des Drusus im Jahr 15 v. Chr.,” <i>Germania</i> 72, 1994, pp. 587–596. The Döttenbichl site, dated to 15 BCE, produced over 300 Roman weapons including two daggers as well as native weapons, personal effects and tools: Peter S. Wells, <i>The Barbarians Speak</i> , Princeton, 1999, p. 69.
303	Wulf Rüskamp, “Das Geheimnis einer Bleischeibe,” <i>Badische Zeitung</i> 3 May 2008; http://www.lwl.org/varus-download/presse_imperium/Pressinformation_VII_EN.pdf
304	Gruen, <i>CAH</i> , p. 170; Walser 1994, pp. 30–31.
305	Strabo 4.6.9 and 4.6.12.
306	Suetonius, <i>Divus Augustus</i> 77; Pliny the Elder, <i>Naturalis Historia</i> 14.67; Vergil, <i>Georgicon</i> 2.95–96. Valpolicella comes from this region today. On the unique qualities of <i>raeticum</i> see Andrew Dalby, <i>Empires of</i>

Pleasure, London, 2000, p. 90.
Chevalier 1976, p. 137.
The date is generally accepted
as 24 May 16 BCE based on
Germanicus' death occurring at
34 years of age as stated in
Suetonius, *Claudius*, 1.6 (though
some argue for 15 BCE, for
example, Seager, 1972, p. xv).
On the physical location of
wives of male members of the
imperial household while on
campaign see Anthony A.
Barrett, "Augustus and the
Governor's Wives" in *Rheinisches
Museum für Philologie* Vol. 149,
2006, pp. 129–147.

Chapter 3: Drusus the Builder

1

Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 1.1:
"Gallia est omnis divisa in partes
tres". He excluded from his
definition of Gallia the
administrative region along the
Mediterranean coast the
Romans referred to simply as
Provincia, meaning 'the
Province'. Even as Caesar was
engaged in a war of conquest,
this region had already been
under Roman control for more
than seventy-five years
(Drinkwater 1983, p. 5). Its
acquisition had not been a
conscious act by the Roman
state. Instead, Rome had come
to the aid of the Greek city-state
(*poleis*) of Massilia (Marseilles)
in 154 BCE when the inhabitants
struggled to maintain their rule
over the Celto-Ligurian peoples
as they witnessed their
neighbouring cities of Antipolis
and Nicea under siege (Polybius

33.6–10). Twenty-nine years later the Massilians called on the Romans again, this time to beat their fiercest enemy the Salluvii. Following their defeat, the Romans established a permanent military base at Aquae Sextiae (Aix-en-Provence) from which they launched campaigns to quell the sources of trouble. Through these actions, Rome secured a swathe of land from the Pyrenees to the Rhône and up through the Rhône Valley as far as Lake Geneva. A city of retired Roman troops (*colonia*) was established in the region at Narbo Martius (Narbonne) in 118 BCE. Connecting it to Italy and Roman Spain was a new highway, the *via Domitia* (Strabo 4.6.3).

2

Strabo 4.1.1; Tacitus, *Annales* 3.44 – the date is uncertain with many historians favouring 27 BCE, for example, see Drinkwater 1983, pp. 20–21 and Woolf 1998, p. 39. I favour the period 16–13 BCE, citing Suetonius, *Tiberius* 9.1 showing that the region beyond Provincia was called Gallia Comata when Tiberius served as governor in 16–15 BCE.

3

CIL 13.1680, Vol. I.2, 318, Pl. LXVIIIa, cited in D. Fishwick 2003, p. 200.

4

From 22 BCE: Dio 54.4.10.

5

Colonia derives from the Latin *colere*, to cultivate, reflecting one of the first acts of new inhabitants of a colony which was to till the land, cf. T.W.

- 6 Potter, *Roman Italy*, 1987, p. 68.
- 7 Drinkwater 1983, p. 19.
A. Desbat, *Lugdunum: Naissance d'une Capitale: Dossier de Presse*, 2005, p. 5. On the physical location of wives of male members of the imperial household while on campaign see Anthony A. Barrett "Augustus and the Governor's Wives" in *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, Vol. 149 (2006), pp. 129–147.
- 8 Desbat 2005, p. 5.
- 9 Strabo 4.6.11.
- 10 Paul MacKendrik, *Roman France*, London, 1971, p. 64; MacMullen 2000, pp. 93–95.
- 11 MacKendrik 1971, p. 67.
- 12 MacKendrik 1971, p. 67.
- 13 A.K. Bowman, "Provincial Administration and Taxation," in *CAH*, 1996, pp. 344–345.
- 14 Andrew Lintott, *Imperium Romanum: Politics and Administration*, London, 1993, p. 22.
- 15 Dio 54.24.3.
- 16 Dio 54.24.3; Cicero, *De Lege Agraria* 2.95: "*Ligures duri atque agrestes*".
- 17 Walser 1994, pp. 35–43. *Cohors I Ligurum* and *Cohors II Ligurum*.
- 18 P. Brunn, "Coins and the Roman Imperial Government," in G.M. Paul *et al.* (eds.), *Togo Salomon Papers II*, Ann Arbor, p. 24 cites the example of RIC 1, 25; C.H.V. Sutherland, *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy*, New York, 1978, pp. 65–66.
- 19 Brunn 1999, p. 24: copper *aes* and bronze *dupondius* coins continued to be minted in

- Rome.
- 20 Michael Grant, *Roman History from Coins*, Cambridge, 1958, p. 79.
- 21 H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins: From the Earliest Times to the Fall of the Western Empire*, London, 1960, pp. 104–105.
- 22 Edith Mary Wightman, *Roman Trier and the Treveri*, New York, 1971, p. 36.
- 23 Wolff 1998, p. 39.
- 24 Bowman, *CAH*, 1996, p. 549; Goudineau, *CAH*, 1996, p. 488.
- 25 Goudineau 1996, p. 488; Strabo 4.3.2 mentions the 60 nations of Tres Galliae comprised of 25 in Lugdunensis, 18 in Belgica and 17 in Aquitania. Tacitus mentions sixty-four tribes at the time of the revolt of 21 CE (Tacitus, *Annales* 3.44) but this may include four *civitates* that were later part of the Roman province of Germania Superior.
- 26 On the paucity of evidence for these magistracies in the Gallic *civitates*, see Drinkwater 1983, p. 108.
- 27 E.W. Haley, *Baetica Felix*, Austin 2003, p. 112.
- 28 Goudineau, *CAH*, 1996, pp. 498–499; Wightman 1971, p. 37.
- 29 Dio 54.25.1.
- 30 Dio 54.25.1; Drinkwater 1983, pp. 228–230; Wolff 1998, p. 121.
- 31 Tacitus, *Annales* 1.11.7.
- 32 Wolff 1998, p. 33.
- 33 Tacitus, *Agricola* 21.
- 34 Tacitus, *Agricola* 21.
- 35 Tacitus, *Agricola* 11.
- 36 Goudineau, *CAH*, 1996, p. 497:

37
38

on the limitations of Augustus' policy of urban development see C. Goudineau and A. Rebourg, *Les villes Augustéennes de Gaule*, Autun, 1985.

Goudineau, *CAH*, 1996, p. 495.

Hyginus, *De Condicionibus Agrorum*, 11: "*Item dicitur in Germania in Tungris pes Drusianus, qui habet monetalem pedem et sescunciam*". The tribal area of the Tunгри referred to by Hyginus had its *vicus* at Atuatuca, modern Tongres/Tongerren – see W.

Vanvinceknroye, *Tongerren: Romeinse Stad*, Tielt, 1985, pp. 33–36, with street plan of the early settlement as fig. 12 on p. 36.

39

Livy 6.20.13 says the *pes Monetalis* got its name from the fact that the physical standard measure was housed in the Temple of Iuno Moneta, which was also the mint.

40

C.J. Bridger, "The *Pes Monetalis* and *Pes Drusianus* in Xanten," *Britannia* 15 (1984), pp. 85–98; *Britannia* 13 (1982), pp. 315–320; O.A.W. Dilke, "The Roman Surveyors", *Greece & Rome*, Second Series, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Oct., 1962), pp. 170–180.

41

A man's foot measuring 13.25–13.75 inches would be the equivalent of a shoe size US 18–19/UK 17.5–18.5 or larger. According to Guinness World Records the largest feet ever measured were those of Robert Pershing Wadlow (1918–1940) of Alton, Illinois, whose shoe size was 37AA (18.5 inches

- long).
- 42 Goudineau, *CAH*, 1996, p. 495;
R. P. Duncan-Jones, "Length-
Units in Roman Town Planning:
The *Pes Monetalis* and the *Pes*
Drusianus," *Britannia* 11, 1980,
pp. 127–133.
- 43 Goudineau, *CAH*, 1996, p. 497.
- 44 Goudineau, *CAH*, 1996, p. 497.
- 45 Goudineau, *CAH*, 1996, p. 496;
Wolff 1998, p. 120.
- 46 Dio 54.21.2–8: Licinus is also
spelled Licinius in some Roman
sources.
- 47 Drinkwater 1983, p. 97.
- 48 Drinkwater 1983, p. 21.
- 49 Dio 54.25.1.
- 50 Augustus, *Res Gestae* 2.8; Livy,
Periochae 134.
- 51 Tacitus, *Annales* 1.31, 2.6.
- 52 Ulpian, *Digest* 50.15.4 cited as
example 63 in B. Levick,
*Government of the Roman Empire:
A Source Book*, Beckenham,
1985, pp. 72–74.
- 53 The best known example of a
census is that recorded in the
Gospel of St Luke, 2.1–6: see
discussion by H. Braunert, "Der
römische Provinzialzensus und
der Schätzungsbericht des
Lukas-Evangeliums," *Historia:
Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 6,
1957, pp. 192–214.
- 54 *ILS* 1514 cited in Mommsen
1996, p. 291, note 495.
- 55 Dio 54.25.1.
- 56 Suetonius, *Claudius* 1.4: "*fuisse
autem creditur non minus gloriosi
quam civilis animi*".
- 57 Suetonius, *Claudius* 1.4: "*nec
dissimulasse umquam pristinum se
rei publica statum, quandoque
posset, restitutum*"; cf. Tacitus,

- 58 *Annales* 2.97.
Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 1.30.4;
Lintott 1993, p. 40–41.
- 59 Bowman, *CAH*, 1996, p. 348.
- 60 Bowman, *CAH*, 1996, p. 356.
- 61 See Duncan Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West*, Vol. 3, Part 1, Boston, 2003, p. 3, citing Dio 51.20.6–7.
- 62 See Duncan Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West*, Vol. 1, Part 1, Boston, 1987, p. 77 and pp. 126–30; Suetonius, *Augustus* 52; Tacitus, *Annales* 4.37.
- 63 See Fishwick, Vol. 3, 1, 7; Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* 4.111; Ptolemy 2.6.3; Pomponius Mela 3.13.
- 64 Goudineau, *CAH*, 1996, p. 499.
- 65 Dio 54.32.1; Duncan Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West*, Vol. 3, Part 3, Boston, 2003, p. 123 argues that the temple on the sanctuary site was not erected until after Hadrian had visited Tres Galliae in 121 CE.
- 66 See Chapter 7, note 198.
- 67 Florus 30.21–31; Velleius Paterculus 2.97.2.
- 68 Austin *et al.* 1995, p. 126 write that Peter Brunt suggested Augustan expansionism; see Peter Brunt in P.D.A. Garnsey and C.R. Whittaker (eds.), *Imperialism in the Ancient World*, Cambridge, 1978, p. 175f.
- 69 J.-S. Kühlborn, “Schlagkraft: Die Feldzüge unter Augustus und Tiberius in Nordwestdeutschland,” in L. Wamser *et al.*, *Die Römer zwischen Alpen und Nordmeer*,

- 70 Düsseldorf, 2000, pp. 27–29.
O.A.W. Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps*, Baltimore, 1998, pp. 39–53; Helmut Signon, *Agrippa: Freund und Mitregent des Kaisers Augustus*, Frankfurt, 1978, pp. 210–215.
- 71 Examples: Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 6.25–28; Strabo 7.1.2.
- 72 Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* 3.2.
- 73 Wells 1972, p. 6.
- 74 Austin *et al.* 1995, pp. 126–7.
- 75 Wells 1972, p. 7.
- 76 Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.279–286.
- 77 Austin *et al.* 1995, pp. 126–7.
- 78 Sex. Vistilius was a *praetor* who served under Drusus and later transferred to his brother, Tacitus, *Annals* 6.9. His sister Vistilia married Corbulo the Elder: B. Kavanagh, “The Elder Corbulo and the Seating Incident”, *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 53, 2004, pp. 379–384.
- 79 Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 25.
- 80 Signon 1978, pp. 49–51 and pp. 159–166.
- 81 Tacitus, *Germania* 1.5.
- 82 Tacitus, *Germania* 1.5.
- 83 Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 1.1 is the earliest surviving use of the term *Germani*; see also Tacitus, *Germania* 1.2 and Strabo 7.1.2.
- 84 Tacitus, *Germania* 1.4 proposes the Germanic peoples were racially ‘pure’ being unmixed through intermarriage with other races.
- 85 H. Steuer, “Warrior Bands, war lords and the birth of tribes and states in the first millenium AD in Middle Europe,” in T. Otto

86

(ed.), *Warfare and Society: Archaeological and Social Anthropological Perspectives*, Aarhus, 2006, p. 228–230.
Tacitus, *Germania* 38–43.3;
Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 4.1–3;
Dio 39.48, 52.22.6; Ptolemy 2.10; Strabo 4.3.4.

87

Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 4.4;
Tacitus, *Germania* 16.1.

88

H. Jahnkun, “Siedlung, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaftsordnung der germanischen Stämme in der Zeit der römischen Angriffskriege”, in H. Temporini & W. Haase (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel d. neueren Forschung*, Vol. II.5.1, Stuttgart, 1976, pp. 78–82, see fig. 5 on p. 79.

89

Tacitus, *Germania* 14.2.

90

Tacitus, *Germania* 7.1.

91

Tacitus, *Germania* 14.1–4.

92

Wells 1972, pp. 29–30.

93

Strabo 7.1.4; cf. Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 4.13.

94

Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 6.23;
Tacitus, *Annales* 12.27; Festus 37.39. I am indebted to Michael James Taylor for locating the references. B.D. Shaw, “Bandits in the Roman Empire”, *Past and Present* 105, 1984, pp. 3–52.

95

Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 6.23, “*Latrocinia nullam habent infamiam, quae extra fines cuiusque civitatis fiunt, atque ea iuventutis exercendae ac desidia minuéndae causa fieri praedicant*”.

96

Tacitus, *Germania* 1.5.

97

Dio 54.25.1.

98	Eutropius 7.9.
99	<i>Legio</i> XIX; a graffito on a pottery sherd, and an inscription on a helmet, provide evidence of the presence of <i>Legio</i> XIII <i>Gemina</i> in Nijmegen under Drusus. Auxiliaries recruited by Drusus: see Chapter 2, note 262 and Chapter 3, note 17.
100	Wells 1972, pp. 134–136.
101	Wells 1972, pp. 127–128, see fig. 6.
102	C. Rüger, “Roman Germany,” in <i>CAH</i> , 1996, p. 525.
103	Wells 1972, p. 128.
104	Rüger, <i>CAH</i> , 1996, p. 525.
105	C. S. Sommer, “Why There? The Positioning of Forts Along the Riverine Frontiers,” in <i>The Army and Frontiers of Rome</i> , <i>JRA</i> Supplement 74, 2009, pp. 103–114 argues that the placement of forts on many sites on the Danube River was not designed to control <i>access points</i> such as roads and bridges, since they do not offer good lines of surveillance, but to give the army the best vantage to control <i>lengths</i> of the river. The precursor for this in my view was the line of fortresses established by Drusus on the Rhine River.
106	Florus 2.30.26: “ <i>In Rheni quidem ripa quinquaginta amplius castella dixerit. Bonam et Gesoriacum pontibus iunxit classibusque firmavit</i> ” – Florus is frequently disbelieved by modern historians on the basis that a fraction of this number of sites have been found through excavation, however, as N.

107

Reed, "Drusus and the *Classis Britannica*," *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 24/2, 1975, p. 315 argues, instead of discounting the claim, we should be prepared to accept it until evidence categorically refutes it: just because we have not found them does not mean they are not there. Wells 1972, p. 97; H. von Petrikovits, *Das römische Rheinland Archäologische Forschungen seit 1945*, Köln, 1961, pp. 33–34.

108

Florus 2.30.27; for a discussion on the identification of Borma or Bonna and Gesoriacum see Wells 1972, p. 137, and Reed 1975, pp. 315–323. Wells 1972, p. 97; for datings based on glass and bronze finds see H.J. Eggers, "Zur absoluten Chronologie der Kaizerzeit im freien Germanien," in H. Temporini & W. Haase (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel d. neueren Forschung*, Vol. II.5.1, Stuttgart, 1976, pp. 21–24.

109

Wells 1972, p. 97; Bingen: Wells 1972, Appendix II, p. 283; Bonn: Wells 1972, pp. 136–137; Koblenz: Wells 1972, pp. 137–138; Strasbourg: Wells 1972, pp. 147–148.

110

Paul MacKendrick, *Romans on the Rhine: Archaeology in Germany*, New York, 1970, p. 69.

111

Wells 1972, pp. 138–145.

112

Wells 1972, p. 146.

113

Wells 1972, p. 146.

114

Tacitus, *Germania* 28.

115	Tacitus, <i>Germania</i> 28.
116	Wells 1972, p. 135.
117	Wells 1972, p. 135.
118	Petrikovits 1961, pp. 17–26, 31–33: see fig. 2, p. 18 for ground plan and Wells 1972, p. 129 fig. 6.
119	Wells 1972, p. 128.
120	Wells 1972, p. 132.
121	Wells 1972, p. 132.
122	Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> 1.45.
123	Wells 1972, pp. 123–127.
124	Caesar, <i>Bellum Gallicum</i> 4.10; Dio 55.24.7–8; Tacitus, <i>Germania</i> 29.
125	Tacitus, <i>Germania</i> 29; N. Roymans, <i>Ethnic Identity and Imperial Power: the Batavians in the Early Roman Empire</i> , Amsterdam, 2004, p. 24.
126	Roymans 2004, p. 24, p. 91.
127	Tacitus, <i>Germania</i> 29.
128	Dio 55.24.7, 60.20; Tacitus, <i>Germania</i> 29.
129	Dio 55.24.7.
130	Dio 55.24.8; Tacitus, <i>Germania</i> 29.
131	Dio 55.24.8.
132	Tacitus, <i>Germania</i> 29.
133	Tacitus, <i>Germania</i> 29. Their unfailing reliability and ruthlessness in a battle against the Caledonii is described in Tacitus, <i>Agricola</i> 36.
134	Roymans 2000, p. 96.
135	Tacitus, <i>Germania</i> 29.
136	Roymans 2000, pp. 98–99.
137	Roymans 2000, p. 219.
138	Wells 1972, p. 121, map as fig 4. on p. 117.
139	Wells 1972, p. 123.
140	W.J.H. Willems, “Roman Face Masks from the Kops Plateau, Nijmegen, The Netherlands,”

- JRES* 3, 1992, pp. 57–66; H. van Enckevort and J.H.W. Willems, “Roman Cavalry Helmets in Ritual Hordes from the Kops Plateau, Nijmegen, The Netherlands”, *JRES* 5, 1994, pp. 125–137.
- 141 Tacitus, *Annales* 2.8.1;
Suetonius, *Claudius* 1.
- 142 Suetonius, *Claudius* 1: “*Is Drusus in quaesturae praeturaeque honore dux Raetici, deinde Germanici belli Oceanum septemtrionalem primus Romanorum ducum navigavit transque Rhenum fossas navi et immensi operis effecit, quae nunc adhuc Drusinae vocantur*”.
- 143 Suetonius, *Claudius* 1.
- 144 Tacitus, *Annales* 2.8.1: “*Iamque classis advenerat, cum praemisso commeatu et distributis in legiones ac socios navibus fossam, cui Drusianae nomen, ingressus precatusque Drusum patrem ut se eadem ausum libens placatusque exemplo ac memoria consiliorum atque operum iuvaret, lacus inde et Oceanum usque ad Amisiam flumen secunda navigatione pervehitur*”. Germanicus used the same invasion route as his father in the campaign of 16 CE.
- 145 Tacitus, *Annales* 13.53: “*Paulinus Pompeius et L. Vetus ea tempestate exercitui praeerant. ne tamen segnem militem attinerent, ille inchoatum ante tres et sexaginta annos a Druso aggerem coercendo Rheno absolvit...*”.
- 146 Tacitus, *Historiae* 5.19.
- 147 Tacitus, *Historiae* 5.19.
- 148 R.L. Hohlfelder, Christopher Brandon, and John Peter

149

Oleson, "Constructing the Harbour of Caesarea Palaestina, Israel: New Evidence from the ROMACONS Field Campaign of October 2005" in *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 36.2 (2007), pp. 409–415. K.G. Holum, R.L. Hohlfelder, R.J. Bull, and A. Raban, *King Herod's Dream: Caesarea on the Sea*, New York, 1988, p. 101.

On constructing moles see M. Vitruvius Pollio who, around 25 BCE, wrote the influential *De Architectura* and describes hydraulic concrete (2.6.1) and how to build harbours with wooden formworks (5.12.2–6). Holum *et al.* 1988, p. 101 and 105 with isometric cutaway reconstruction as fig. 64 on p. 103 and artist's painting as fig. 65 on p. 104. The authors note that spruce, pine, fir and poplar were identified by botanists among the timbers found.

150

Tacitus, *Annales* 13.53; Wells 1972, p. 115. K.D. White, *Greek and Roman Technology*, Ithaca, New York, 1984, p. 110 notes that the subject of ancient Greek and Roman canal building has received "scant attention" but he documents seventeen examples known from archaeology or classical texts in Table 6.

151

For a range of hypotheses see K. Huisman, "De Drususgrachten: een Nieuwe Hypothese," *Westerheem* 44, 1995, pp. 188–194; B. Makaske, G.J. Maas and D.G. van Smeerdijk, "The age

- and origin of the Gelderse IJssel,” *Netherlands Journal of Geosciences* 87–4, 2008, pp. 323–337; Wells 1972, pp. 101–116.
- 152 Carvium: *AE* 1939, nos. 129 and 130 – the tombstone of M. Mallius is in the Valkhof Museum, Nijmegen. Arnhem-Meinerswijk: W.J.H. Willems, “Arnhem-Meinerswijk: een Nieuw *Castellum* aan de Rijn,” *Westerheem* 29, 1980, pp. 334–348.
- 153 Makaske *et al.* 2008, p. 327: critics object that the researchers did not dig deep enough.
- 154 Wells 1972, p. 116.
- 155 Suetonius, *Claudius* 1: he uses the plural *fossae Drusianae*, which has led some to interpret that there were at least two canals, but Wells argues that this is a literary device: Wells 1972, p. 115–116.
- 156 Huisman 1995, pp. 188–194.
- 157 Wells 1972, p. 110 cites *CIL* 13.8811, 8810, 8815 and 12086a.
- 158 Wells 1972, p. 105, see also map as fig. 3 on p. 102.
- 159 Wells 1972, pp. 107–108.
- 160 Josephus, *The Jewish War* 3.5.5.
- 161 Suetonius, *Claudius* 2.1.6.
- 162 Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 71.3: “*Nos, mi Tiberi, Quinquatrus satis iucunde egimus; lusimus enim per omnis dies forumque aleatorium calfecimus. Frater tuus magnis clamoribus rem gessit; ad summam tamen perdidit non multum, sed ex magnis detrimentis praeter spem paulatim retractum*”

est. Ego perdididi viginti milia nummum meo nomine, sed cum effuse in lusu liberalis fuisset, ut soleo plerumque. Nam si quas manus remisi cuique exegissem aut retinuissem quod cuique donavi, vicissem vel quinquaginta milia. Sed hoc malo; benignitas enim mea me ad caelestem gloriam efferent". This is the only personal letter that survives describing Drusus the Elder in life.

163

Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 25.

164

Dio 54.25.1–2; *CIL* 1.2 244.

Drusus the Younger: it is generally accepted that Tiberius' son was born to Vipsania on 7 October 14 BCE (Seager 1972, p. 25), though there are some who argue for 15 BCE.

Chapter 4: Drusus the Explorer

1

On the continuing problem with "feuds between the Gallic chieftains", see Suetonius, *Tiberius* 9.1.

2

G. Wolff, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilisation in Gaul*, Cambridge, 1998, p. 21. The find of a hoard in Port-Haliguen, Quiberon in which the portrait of Augustus on every one of the *asses* is scored as evidence of disquiet among some parts of the the Gallic population – Jean-Baptiste Giard, "Le trésor de Port-Haliguen: Contribution à l'étude du monnayage d'Auguste," *Revue Numismatique* vol. 6, issue 9, 1967, p. 121; Patrick Gaillon and Michael Jones, *The Bretons*,

- 3 Oxford, 1991, p. 77.
Livy, *Periochae* 138: “A Druso census actus est”; Livy, *Periochae* 139: “Ciuitates Germaniae cis Rhenum et trans Rhenum positae oppugnantur a Druso, et tumultus, qui ob censum exortus in Gallia erat, componitur”.
- 4 Wolff 1998, p. 39.
- 5 Austin *et al.* 1995, pp. 149–155.
- 6 Le Bohec 1994, p. 48.
- 7 Maureen Carroll, *Romans Celts and Germans: The German Provinces of Rome*, Stroud, 2001, p. 34.
- 8 Drinkwater 1983, p. 132.
- 9 Watson 1969, p. 85
- 10 Le Bohec 1994, p. 53.
- 11 Watson 1969, p. 146.
- 12 A.H.M. Jones, “The Roman Civil Service (Clerical and Sub-Clerical Grades),” *JRS* XXXIX, 1949, 44ff.; Le Bohec 1994, p. 23.
- 13 Le Bohec 1994, p. 56.
- 14 Watson 1969, p. 85.
- 15 Le Bohec 1994, pp. 21–22.
- 16 Dio 54.32.1.
- 17 The question of the date of the inauguration of the altar continues to fuel debate among scholars, with some favouring in 10 BCE others 12 BCE. It seems to me most likely that the groundbreaking ceremony took place in 12 BCE in order for it to be ready in time for consecration in 10 BCE.
- 18 Drinkwater 1983, p. 131.
- 19 Dio 54.32.2.
- 20 Dio 54.32.2.
- 21 Dio 54.32.2; cf. Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 4.19.
- 22 Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 4.18.

Tacitus, *Annales* 2.6: “*insula Batavorum in quam convenirent praedicta, ob facilis adpulsus accipiendisque copiis et transmittendum ad bellum opportuna. nam Rhenus uno alveo continuus aut modicas insulas circumveniens apud principium agri Batavi velut in duos amnis dividitur, servatque nomen et violentiam cursus, qua Germaniam praevehitur, donec Oceano misceatur: ad Gallicam ripam latior et placidior adfluens (verso cognomento Vahalem accolae dicunt), mox id quoque vocabulum mutat Mosa flumine eiusque inmenso ore eundem in Oceanum effunditur*”.

Tacitus, *Annales* 2.5: “*at si mare intretur, promptam ipsis possessionem et hostibus ignotam, simul bellum maturius incipi legionesque et commeatus pariter vehi; integrum equitem equosque per ora et alveos fluminum media in Germania fore*”. This is a rare articulation in Latin literature of the strategic intent of an operational plan deployed by the Roman army leadership.

Tacitus, *Annales* 2.6: “*mille naves sufficere visae properataeque, aliae breves, angusta puppi proraque et lato utero, quo facilius fluctus tolerarent; quaedam planae carinis, ut sine noxa siderent; plures adpositis utrimque gubernaculis, converso ut repente remigio hinc vel illinc adpellerent; multae pontibus stratae, super quas tormenta veherentur, simul aptae ferendis equis aut commeatui; velis habiles,*

citae remis augebantur alacritate militum in speciem ac terrorem". The descriptions of the different types of ships suggest Tacitus was drawing from a well-informed source – Pliny the Elder? – or from original military reports.

- 26 See Frank Lepper and Sheppard Frere, *Trajan's Column*, Sutton, 1988, scenes 2 and 3, 33 through 35, and 46 to 47.
- 27 Lepper and Frere 1988, scenes 4–5 and 48.
- 28 Lepper and Frere 1988, p. 82.
- 29 Paul Johnstone and Seán McGrail, *The Sea-craft of Prehistory*, 1989, p. 89.
- 30 Angus Konstam, *The History of Shipwrecks*, 2002, pp. 68–69, which includes a cut-away reconstruction.
- 31 Richard A. Gabriel, "Masters of the Mediterranean," *Military History*, December 2007: <http://www.historynet.com/the-roman-navy-masters-of-the-mediterranean.htm>
- 32 D.B. Saddington, "Classes: The Evolution of the Roman Imperial Fleets," *CRA*, pp. 201–217; Lawrence Keppie, "The Army and Navy," *CAH*, pp. 376–377.
- 33 Tacitus, *Annales* 2.6.
- 34 Richard A. Gabriel, "Masters of the Mediterranean," *Military History*, December 2007.
- 35 Chester G. Starr, *The Roman Imperial Navy*, 1941, p. 203, note 69.
- 36 Czysz *et al.* 2005, pp. 493–494; <http://www2.rgzm.de/navis/ships/ship037/ship037Engl.htm>

37

The reconstruction ‘Oberstimm 1’ was built between January 2007 and March 2008 by historians from the University of Hamburg and boatbuilders from the shipyard of Jugend in Arbeit Hamburg e.V. At launch it was named *Victoria*. See R. Asskamp and C. Schäfer (eds.), *Projekt Römerschiff: Nachbau und Erprobung für die Ausstellung Imperium – Konflikt – Mythos. 2000 Jahre Varusschlacht*, Hamburg, 2009.

38

Terra X – Schliemanns Erbe: Der Limes, ZDF, broadcast 5 April 2009: <http://terra-x.zdf.de/ZDFde/>

39

<http://www2.rgzm.de/navis/Ships/Ship101/Navisnachbau1Engl.htm>

40

Measurements are based on the lines of Mainz 5 and the shape of Mainz 1. Unlike ships built for the Mediterranean Sea, the Mainz ships had no keelson but instead had a mast-frame, which is cut thicker in the middle and features a hole for the mast. In the ancient world mast-frames were often placed in ships north of the Alps. The Museum notes “besides the measuring unit of the *Pes Drusianus* the mast frame proves that the Roman shipbuilders, which built the Mainz ships belonged to the provincial population north of the Alps”.

41

Tacitus, *Annales* 2.6.

42

For the calculations see John Peddie, *Invasion*, Gloucester, 1987, pp. 38–40.

- 43 Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 4.22;
Tacitus, *Annales* 2.6.
- 44 It is likely that the legions engaged in the campaign were not full size, as the winter camps had to be guarded, provisions for the following year's campaign organized and provincial police duties carried out.
- 45 W.J.H. Willems, "Early Roman Camps on the Kops Plateau at Nijmegen (NL)", in Valerie A. Maxfield *et al* (eds.), *Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, Exeter, 1989, pp. 210–214.
- 46 Dio 54.32.2.
- 47 Tacitus, *Historiae* 4.15.
- 48 Laurant Toorians, "De Cananefaten in taalkundig perspectief," in W. de Jonge, J. Bazelmans and D.H. de Jager (eds.), *Forum Hadriani: Van Romeinse stad tot monument*, Utrecht, 2006.
- 49 Tacitus, *Germania* 34.
- 50 Dio 54.32.2. The tribute levied upon the Frisii was the supply of oxhides, Tacitus, *Annales* 4.72.
- 51 Dio 54.32.2; units of *Cuneus Frisiorum*, being a 'wedge formation' of irregular cavalry, are known to have served on Hadrian's Wall at Aballava (Burgh-by-Sands), Derventio (Papcastle, Cockermouth) and Vercovicium (Housesteads fort), and also at Vinovia (Binchester). A *cohors peditata quingenaria* called *Cohors Frisiavonum* is attested by inscriptions and discharge

- diplomas at several sites across northern Britain.
- 52 Dio 54.32.2.
- 53 Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* 16.2–4.
- 54 Strabo 7.1.3.
- 55 Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* 4.27.
- 56 Tacitus, *Germania* 34.3 uses the word *temptavit* which indicates a line of inquiry: C. Nicolet, *Space, Geography, and Politics in the Early Roman Empire*, Ann Arbor, 1991, p. 92.
- 57 Nicolet 1991, p. 87.
- 58 Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* 21.67; Tacitus, *Germania* 34.3; Suetonius, *Claudius* 1; Velleius Paterculus 2.106. The passages in the ancient writers' accounts have sparked great debate: for a review, see Nicolet 1991, pp. 91–94, note 17.
- 59 Tacitus, *Germania* 34.3.
- 60 The Ems River was known to several ancient authors: Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* 4.14; Tacitus, *Annales* 1; Pomponius Mela 3.3; Strabo 7.1; and Ptolemy 2.10 – Ptolemy's name for it was the *Amisios potamos*, and in Latin *Amisius fluvius*. The others used the same, or Amisia, or Amasia, or Amasios.
- 61 Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 4.25: “*Atque nostris militibus cunctantibus, maxime propter altitudinem maris, qui X legionis aquilam gerebat, obtestatus deos, ut ea res legioni feliciter eveniret, ‘desilite’, inquit, ‘milites, nisi vultis aquilam hostibus prodere; ego*

certe meum rei publicae atque imperatori officium praestitero'. Hoc cum voce magna dixisset, se ex navi proiecit atque in hostes aquilam ferre coepit. Tum nostri cohortati inter se, ne tantum dedecus admitteretur, universi ex navi desiluerunt. Hos item ex proximis primi navibus cum conspexissent, subsecuti hostibus adpropinquaverunt". This passage is one of the most memorable and evocative in all Roman military writing.

62

Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* 16.2.

63

Ludwig Fischer and Jürgen Hasse, "Perceptions of the Landscapes in the Wadden Sea Region," in M. Vollmer, Gulberg, Maluck, Marrewijk (2001), *Landscape and Cultural Heritage in the Wadden Sea Region – Project Report*, Wadden Sea Ecosystem 12, chapter 3, p. 85; Germany's Wadden Sea was added to the list of UNESCO World Heritage sites in June 2009 making the nature reserve the first one in the country to be awarded the status.

64

Dio 54.32.2.

65

Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* 16.1–2.

66

Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* 16.1–2.

67

H. Halbertsma, *Terpen tussen Vlie en Eems: Een geografisch-historische Benadering*, Groningen, 1963.

68

Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* 16.1–2.

69

Peter S. Wells, *The Barbarians Speak*, Princeton, 1999, p. 244.

- 70 Tacitus, *Germania* 35.
71 Wells 1999, p. 244; H. Jahnkun, “Siedlung, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaftsordnung der germanischen Stämme in der Zeit der römischen Angriffskriege”, in H. Temporini & W. Haase (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel d. neueren Forschung*, Vol. II.5.1, Stuttgart, 1976, pp. 90–93.
- 72 *Bructeri minores* are mentioned by Ptolemy 2.10, as neighbours of the Sugambri.
- 73 Tacitus, *Germania* 33.
74 Strabo 7.1.3.
75 Dio 54.32.2.
76 Dio 54.32.2.
77 Dio 54.32.2.
78 Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 18.2, 29.1, 29.3. On the significance of Apollo to the Romans and the *ludi Apollinares*, see C.W. Cook, “The Calpurnii and Roman Family History: An Analysis of the Piso Frugi Coin in the Joel Handshu Collection at the College of Charleston,” *Chrestomathy: Annual Review of Undergraduate Research at the College of Charleston* 1, 2002, pp. 1–10.
- 79 Syme 1978, p. 60, note 2.
80 Denarius, C 383, RIC 416.
81 Suetonius, *Claudius* 1.1: “*Is Drusus... deinde Germanici belli Oceanum septemtrionalem primus Romanorum ducum navigavit ...*”.
- 82 Augustus, *Res Gestae* 5.26, translated by Thomas Bushnell and reproduced with permission, 1998: “*Classis mea*

per Oceanum ab ostio Rheni ad solis orientis regionem usque ad fines Cimbrorum navigavit, quo neque terra neque mari quisquam Romanus ante id tempus adit. Cimbrique et Charydes et Semnones et eiusdem tractus alii Germanorum populi per legatos amicitiam meam et populi Romani petierunt”.

83

Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* 2.167: “*A Gadibus columnisque Herculis Hispaniae et Galliarum circuitu totus hodie navigatur occidens. septentrionalis vero oceanus maiore ex parte navigatus est, auspiciis Divi Augusti Germaniam classe circumvecta ad Cimbrorum promunturium et inde inmenso mari prospecto aut fama cognito Scythicam ad plagam et umore nimio rigentia”.*

84

Tacitus, *Germania* 34: “*Ipsam quin etiam Oceanum illa temptavimus: et superesse adhuc Herculis columnas fama vulgavit, sive adiit Hercules, seu quidquid ubique magnificum est, in claritatem eius referre consensimus. Nec defuit audentia Druso Germanico, sed obstitit Oceanus in se simul atque in Herculem inquiri. Mox nemo temptavit, sanctiusque ac reverentius visum de actis deorum credere quam scire”.*

85

Plutarch, *Alexander* 332 a-b. There are numerous examples of coins showing the portrait of Alexander as Herakles.

86

Suetonius, *Tiberius* 7.3.

Chapter 5: Drusus the Commander

- 1 Livy, *Periochae* 140: “*item Cherusci, Tencteri, Chauci aliaque Germanorum trans Rhenum gentes subactae a Druso referuntur*”. Florus 2.30.26: “*Missus in eam provinciam Drusus primos domuit Vsipetes, inde Tencteros percucurrit et Catthos*”. Whether a bridge was constructed across the Rhine River by the army under Drusus’ command continues to be debated: Reed 1975, pp. 315–323.
- 2 Dio 54.33.1.
- 3 Ptolemy 2.10 does not mention the Usipetes but does mention the Tencteri. The Tencteri were highly regarded by their neighbours as warriors but particularly recognised for “the excellence of their cavalry”; Tacitus, *Germania* 32.
- 4 On the Eburones and the extent of their territory and influence by mapping gold staters minted by them, see J. Heinrichs, “Zur Verwicklung Ubischer Gruppen in den Ambiorix-Aufstand d. J. 54 v. Chr.: Eburonische und ubische Münzen im Hortfund Fraire-2”, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 127, 1999, pp. 275–293.
- 5 Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 4.16.
- 6 D.B. Campbell, “Secrets from the Soil: The Archaeology of Augustus’ Military bases,” in J. Oorthuys (ed.), *AW Special Issue* 1, 2009, p. 23; Wells 1972, pp. 161–162.
- 7 Dio 54.33.1. Wells 1972, p. 221

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notes the Romans habitually crossed the Lippe somewhere between Haltern and Oberaden or Datteln/Olfen and Oberaden, which may have been the location of an ancient ford.

The name Sauerland may have its origins in the name of 'Sugambri land'. The geographer Claudius Ptolemaeus locates the Sugambri along the Rhine, south of the Frisii, and next to the Menapii: Ptolemy 2.10.

Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 6.35.

Strabo 7.1.4.

Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 4.18.

Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 4.18.

Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 6.35.

Dio 54.33.2.

Strabo 7.1.3.

Tacitus, *Germania* 30.

Tacitus, *Germania* 30.

Tacitus, *Annales* 1.56.

Tacitus, *Germania* 30.

Tacitus, *Germania* 30.

Dio 54.1–2.

Strabo 7.1.4.

Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 6.10.

Tacitus, *Germania* 36.

Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* 42.8.

Dio 54.33.2–3.

Dio 54.33.2.

Obsequens, *Prodigiorum* 72.

In the ancient world swarms of honeybees were interpreted as bad omens and associated with bereavement. The Bible, for example, contains several references to bees: e.g. Deuteronomy 1:44; Psalms 118:12; Isaiah 7:19.

Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 11.9.

- 31 Obsequens, *Prodigiorum* 72;
Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis
Historia* 11.18.
- 32 Tacitus, *Germania* 6.1.
- 33 C. Koepfer, “Arming the
Warrior: Archaeological
Evidence,” in J. Oorthuys (ed.),
AW Special Issue 1, 2009, p. 51.
- 34 Tacitus, *Germania* 6.1. Examples
of the *sax* from the fifth century
CE have been found in
Oxfordshire: Embleton 1982, p.
12. A Roman *gladius* and a
spatha from the second century
CE were found in Vimose in
Denmark: P. Wilcox, *Rome’s
Enemies: Germans and Dacians*,
London, 1982, p. 14.
- 35 Examples of iron axe heads
survive from Brandenburg and
Weissenfeld: Embleton 1982, p.
22.
- 36 Michael P. Speidel, *Ancient
Germanic Warriors: Warrior
Styles from Trajan’s Column to
Icelandic Sagas*, Abingdon, 2004,
pp. 87–97.
- 37 Embleton 1982, p. 13.
- 38 Speidel 2004, pp. 131–132.
- 39 Speidel 2004, pp. 98–100 and
pp. 129–130.
- 40 Tacitus, *Germania* 6.1.
- 41 Tacitus, *Germania* 6.2; Speidel
2004, p. 129–130.
- 42 Tacitus, *Germania* 6.2.
- 43 Tacitus, *Germania* 6.1.
- 44 Wilcox 1982, p. 8.
- 45 Wilcox 1982, p. 9.
- 46 Wilcox 1982, p. 16.
- 47 Examples are on display in the
Museum für Vorund
Frühgeschichte, Berlin: Taylor
2009, p. 45.
- 48 Tacitus, *Germania* 6.3.

49	Wilcox 1982, p. 11.
50	Wilcox 1982, p. 23; M.J. Taylor, “Hit and Run: The Germanic Warrior in the First Century AD,” in J. Oorthuys (ed.), <i>AW Special Issue 1</i> , 2009, p. 45.
51	Tacitus, <i>Germania</i> 6.4.
52	Tacitus, <i>Germania</i> 6.1.
53	Caesar, <i>Bellum Gallicum</i> 4.2.
54	Tacitus, <i>Germania</i> 6.3–4.
55	Tacitus, <i>Germania</i> 13.1–2.
56	Tacitus, <i>Germania</i> 6.6.
57	Tacitus, <i>Germania</i> 13.4.
58	Tacitus, <i>Germania</i> 14.1–2.
59	Tacitus, <i>Germania</i> 12.3.
60	Caesar uses the word <i>magistratus</i> : Caesar, <i>Bellum Gallicum</i> 6.23.
61	Tacitus uses the word <i>duces</i> for generals: Tacitus, <i>Germania</i> 7.1.
62	Tacitus, <i>Germania</i> 14.3; cf. Caesar, <i>Bellum Gallicum</i> 6.23.
63	Tacitus, <i>Germania</i> 14.4.
64	Speidel 2004, p. 103.
65	Tacitus, <i>Germania</i> 6.6; Speidel 2004, p. 103.
66	Speidel 2004, p. 103, citing Caesar, <i>Bellum Gallicum</i> 1.51–52; Dio 38.49f.; Florus 1.45.13.
67	Dio 38.49f.
68	Caesar, <i>Bellum Gallicum</i> 1.52.
69	Speidel 2004, pp. 110–113.
70	Tacitus, <i>Germania</i> 3.1.
71	The Germanic <i>cohors I Claudia Sugambrorum Vetera</i> gained fame for the uproar of its singing and weapons, as it engaged the Thracians in 26 CE: Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> 4.47.
72	Speidel 2004, p. 114–126.
73	Tacitus, <i>Germania</i> 7.4.
74	Speidel 2004, p. 109.
75	Tacitus, <i>Germania</i> 6.6.
76	Tacitus, <i>Germania</i> 6.6.

77	See denarius of Drusus, <i>De Germanis</i> : Wilcox 1982, p. 16.
78	See denarius of Drusus, <i>De Germanis</i> : Wilcox 1982, p. 16.
79	Tacitus, <i>Germania</i> 10.6.
80	Caesar, <i>Bellum Gallicum</i> 1.46.1.
81	Speidel 2004, p. 57–80.
82	Pliny the Elder, <i>Naturalis Historia</i> 11.18.
83	Dio 54.33.3.
84	One researcher has argued convincingly on the basis of etymology for the site of the present town of Garbolzum on the Hellweg (Bundestraße 1). Jürgen Martin Regel’s argument is set out at http://zocher-regel.gmxhome.de/ArbaloSchlacht/12Arbalo.html#
85	Cf. Caesar, <i>Bellum Gallicum</i> 8.8; Josephus, <i>The Jewish War</i> 3.6.2.
86	Dio 54.33.3.
87	E.g., Caesar, <i>Bellum Gallicum</i> 7.67.
88	Livy, <i>Periochae</i> 141: “ <i>Bellum aduersus transrhenanas gentes a Druso gestum refertur. In quo inter primores pugnauerunt Chumstinctus et Auectius, tribuni ex ciuitate Neruiorum</i> ”.
89	Dio 54.33.3.
90	Pliny the Elder, <i>Naturalis Historia</i> 11.18.
91	Pliny the Elder, <i>Naturalis Historia</i> 11.18.
92	Dio 54.33.5; cf. 68.19.3–4.
93	Campbell 1984, pp. 122–123.
94	Livy 27.19.4.
95	Antonio Santosuosso, <i>Soldiers, Citizens, and The Symbols of War: From Classical Greece to Republican Rome, 500–167 BC</i> , Boulder, 1997, p. 6 and pp. 198–199.

96	Dio 54.33.4.
97	Wells 1972, pp. 174–175.
98	Wells 1972, p. 167.
99	Evidence from the permanent structures on the site date it to 1–4 CE which is clearly later than Drusus' campaigns; Campbell 2009, p. 24; Wells 1972, pp. 170–174.
100	Campbell 2009, p. 21.
101	Campbell 2009, p. 21; Petrikovits 1960, p. 25; Wells 1972, p. 211.
102	Campbell 2009, p. 21; Wells 1972, p. 211 reports 45 metres (147.6 feet).
103	Campbell 2009, p. 21; Wells 1972, p. 213.
104	Brian Dobson argues persuasively that the rôle of the Roman fort was not to be a “permanently manned strongpoint” but rather to provide “accommodation of the army off-duty”: “The Rôle of the Fort”, in William S. Hanson (ed.), <i>The Army and the Frontiers of Rome</i> , <i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i> Supplementary Series No.74, 2009, pp. 25–23.
105	Campbell 2009, p. 22.
106	Wells 1972, pp. 214–215.
107	Campbell 2009, p. 22.
108	Dio 54.33.5. Hans-Günther Simon, “Eroberung und Verzicht. Die römische Politik in Germanien zwischen 12 v. Chr. und 16 n. Chr.,” in Dietwulf Baatz and Fritz-Rudolf Herrmann (eds.), <i>Die Römer in Hessen</i> , 2002, pp. 41–41.
109	Dio 54.33.4. Iulius Caesar often wintered his army in newly conquered territory: <i>Bellum</i>

110	<i>Gallicum</i> 2.35, 3.29 and 4.38. Valerius Maximus, 4.3.3: “<i>Drusum etiam Germanicum... constitit usum ueneris intra coniugis caritatem clausum tenuisse</i>”.
111	Dio 54.28.1–5. Dio 54.33.5; cf. 55.6.4.
112	Augustus would similarly later deny Tiberius the title <i>Pannonicus</i>: Suetonius, <i>Tiberius</i> 17.2.
113	Campbell 1984, p. 127.
114	Dio 54.33.5; Augustus, <i>Res Gestae</i> 1.4; see Beard 2007, p. 300–302 who interprets Augustus’ use and refusal of triumphs – even among his own family members – for political ends.
115	Dio 54.34.3.
116	Dio 54.36.2; Horace, <i>Carmina</i> 4.15.8; Vergil, <i>Aeneid</i> 7.607.
117	G. Sumi, <i>Ceremony and Power: Performing Politics in Rome between Republic and Empire</i>, Ann Arbor, 2005, pp. 213–214.
118	Dio 54.36.2.
119	Dio 54.36.2.
120	Dio 54.35.4; cf. Livy, <i>Periochae</i> 140; Seneca, <i>Dialogi</i> 11.15.3; Suetonius, <i>Augustus</i> 61.
121	Dio 54.35.4.
122	Dio 54.35.5.
123	See note 114.
124	Campbell 2009, p. 22; Wells 1972, pp. 221–222.
125	Baatz <i>et al.</i> 2002, p. 302 (map p. 43).
126	Campbell 2009, p. 22; Wells 1972, pp. 226–229.
127	Baatz 2002, p. 238–239 (map on p. 43); Wells 1972, p. 227.
128	Baatz 2002, p. 239 (map on p.

	43, ground plan p. 239); Wells 1972, p. 227.
129	Wells 1972, p. 227.
130	Baatz 2002, p. 305 (map on p. 43).
131	Dio 54.36.3.
132	Dio 54.36.3–4.
133	Klaus Grote, <i>Monographie: Römerlager Hedemünden. Vor 2000 Jahren: Römer an der Werra</i> , Sydekum-Schriften zur Geschichte der Stadt Münden 34, Münden 2005: http://www.grote-archaeologie.de/roemer.html
134	The extraordinary number and range of artifacts attests to the astonishing carelessness of Roman troops who seem to have habitually dropped and left tools, arms and armour in temporary camps. These included quantities of coins, notably pocket change in the form of the Augustus/Agrippa <i>dupondii</i> minted in Colonia Nemausus, but the oldest found thus far is a <i>quinarius</i> dating to 90–80 BCE illustrating how long coins remained in circulation.
135	Strabo 7.1.3; Velleius Paterculus 2.108.2.
136	Strabo 7.1.3.
137	Strabo 7.1.3; Velleius Paterculus 2.108.2.
138	Cicero, <i>Oratio pro L. Murena</i> 9–11.
139	Livy 1.10.5; Plutarch, <i>Marcellus</i> 8.2, 8.4; H.I. Flower, “The Tradition of the <i>Spolia Opima</i> : M. Claudius Marcellus and Augustus”, <i>Classical Antiquity</i> 19.1, 2000, p. 34.
140	Plutarch, <i>Marcellus</i> 8.3.

141	Livy 4.20.1–4.
142	Livy 4.20.7. The restoration was carried out not later than 32 BCE.
143	Plutarch, <i>Marcellus</i> 7.1–8.2.
144	Plutarch, <i>Marcellus</i> 7.1; Polybius 2.34; Propertius, <i>Elegiae</i> 5.10, 39–42.
145	Plutarch, <i>Marcellus</i> 7.2.
146	Propertius, <i>Elegiae</i> 5.10, 39–42.
147	Plutarch, <i>Marcellus</i> 7.3.
148	Plutarch, <i>Marcellus</i> 7.4.
149	Plutarch, <i>Marcellus</i> 7.4.
150	Plutarch, <i>Marcellus</i> 8.2–3.
151	Plutarch, <i>Marcellus</i> 8.1.
152	The coin minted by P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus in 50 BCE shows the bare head of M. Claudius Marcellus with a <i>triskeles</i> behind (obverse), and Marcellus veiled and togate carrying a trophy towards a tetrastyle temple (reverse): BMCRR Rome 4206–8; Crawford 439/1; Sydenham 1147; Kestner 3507–8.
153	Suetonius, <i>Tiberius</i> 3.2: “ <i>Drusus hostium duce Drauso comminus trucidato sibi posterisque suis cognomen inuenit</i> ”.
154	Suetonius, <i>Claudius</i> 1.4: “ <i>nam ex hoste super victorias opima quoque spolia captasse summoque saepius discrimine duces Germanorum tota acie insectatus</i> ”.
155	The key reference to the <i>spolia opima</i> is Suetonius, <i>Claudius</i> 1.4 cited in note 154 above. The statement is open to interpretation. The translation I cited in the text is that of Alexander Thompson of 1893. In comparison, Michael Grant’s translation, for example, in the

Penguin Classics edition of 1957, is less emphatic. To resolve the matter I consulted two Latin experts. Latin scholar Bob Durrett, a graduate of the University of South Carolina, advised me by e-mail, "My reading of the passage is: 'It is believed, moreover, that this was less for (the sake of) glory than for civil spirit (morale); for it is believed that he seized from the enemy, beyond the victories alone, the *spolia opima* also, (and) the leaders of the Germans, very often with the greatest (personal) distinction ... having looked upon their whole battle line. (To find and single out the chieftains I wonder? – my note). Nor was he able to pretend that at some time or other he was going to restore the former condition of the State ('republic').' I think that *creditur* tells us much: 'It is *believed* that ...' The implication seems to be that he *did* achieve this singular feat of arms".

Similary Ginny Lindzey, Latin teacher at Dripping Springs High School, Austin, Texas, offered this translation: 'However it is believed that he had been not less of a glorious mind than a civilian one (perhaps with the idea of seeking glory vs seeking to protect the city state?) for he had captured from the enemy beyond victories the *spolia opima* as well and more often ...' I conclude that Drusus the Elder was the fourth – and last –

156

man to have been *officially* recognized as capturing the *spolia opima*.

For a discussion see Flower 2000, pp. 34–64 and P. Kehne, “Augustus und ‘seine’ *spolia opima*: Hoffnungen auf den Triumph des Nero Claudius Drusus?” in T. Hantos and G.A. Lehmann (eds.), *Althistorisches Kolloquium aus Anlass des 70. Geburtstages von Jochen Bleicken*, 1998, pp. 187–211.

157

Dio 55.2.4.

158

Dio 55.2.4.

159

Suetonius, *Tiberius* 50.1.

160

Suetonius, *Claudius* 1.4–5.

161

Livy, *Periochae* 139: “*Ara dei Caesaris ad confluentem Araris et Rhodani dedicata, sacerdote creato C. Iulio Vercondaridubno Aeduo*”. For a full discussion of the date of the altar’s constitution versus its dedication, see Duncan Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West: Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Roman Empire*, Vol. 3, Part 1, Boston, 2002, pp. 13–19.

162

A. Futrell, *Blood in the Arena: The Spectacle of Roman Power*, Austin, 1997, p. 82.

163

Futrell 1997, pp. 81–82.

164

Fishwick 2003, p. 105.

165

The layout of the site suggests an amphitheatre was an integral part of the sanctuary concept from its inception, since it is located at the western end of the site and thus within the sacred grounds; and seating around the arena was marked with the names of the tribes of

the *Concilium Galliarum* of Tres Galliae (surviving inscriptions name the Arverni, Bituriges and Tricasses): Futrell 1997, p. 83.

The stone amphitheatre was not erected until 19 CE as evidenced by an inscription (AE 1959, 61) dedicated to Ti. Caesar by C. Iulius Rufus of Santonum, the *sacerdos* of the sanctuary, and his son and grandson who together paid for the building. It was enlarged and embellished in the second century CE.

166

A. Rozier (ed.), “Le Sanctuaire Federal des Trois Gaules: Localisation Inconnue”, *La Ficelle* 9, Lyon, 2009, p. 6: see map fig. 19. Fishwick 2003, p. 109: there was an architectural precedent for the double ramp design as a processional route at the sanctuary of Fortuna Pimigenia at Praeneste, see plates 107, p. 109 and 108, p. 110.

167

Several variants were minted over a forty year span under both Augustus and Tiberius in different denominations, but each reproduced the same reverse design of the altar, two flanking columns and winged victories. Examples: Augustus: *as*, RIC I 230; *sestertius*, BMCRE 565 and RIC I 231a. Tiberius: *as*, RIC I 31, I 277, I 588; *dupondius*, RIC I 58 and I 236a.

168

One theory is that the structure shown on the coin is actually a curtain wall and that the altar located on the inside was reached by an entrance-way in the manner of the Ara Pacis in

	Rome: see H. Dragendorff, “Der Altar der Roma und des Augustus in Lugdunum”, <i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Institut</i> 52, 1937, pp. 111–119 and related comments of Fishwick 2003, pp. 111–112.
169	Fishwick 2003, p. 111: the first-generation columns may have been brick faced with a skin of marble and were later replaced with ones of granite under Hadrian. Tradition has it that these columns were cut in two and transported to the Church of St Martin at the Abbey of Ainay where they still support the cupola; see Rozier 2009, p. 10.
170	Fishwick 2003, p. 109, footnote 21 cites M. Janon who noted there were four Victories at the Augusteum at Nemausus/Nîmes arranged in a square with a small altar at the centre.
171	Fishwick 2003, p. 111.
172	Rozier 2009, p. 10.
173	See Fishwick 1987, plates II-IV; Rozier 2009, p. 10.
174	Rozier 2009, p. 6.
175	Rozier 2009, p. 10.
176	Fishwick 2003, p. 109.
177	Livy, <i>Periochae</i> 139.
178	Futrell 1997, p. 84.
179	Futrell 1997, p. 84.
180	Dio 54.36.2–4.
181	Dio 54.36.4.
182	Dio 54.36.2–3.
183	Suetonius, <i>Claudius</i> 2.1.
184	Dio 54.36.4.

Chapter 6: Drusus the Consul

1	Dio 55.1.
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- 2 F.R. Cowell, *Cicero and the Roman Republic*, London, 1962, pp. 166–171.
- 3 A. Everitt, *Cicero: The Life and Times of Rome's Greatest Politician*, New York, 2001, p. 87.
- 4 Everitt 2006, pp. 209–211.
- 5 Dio 53.12.1.
- 6 Dio 55.1.1; *Inscriptiones Italiae* 13.2.117.
- 7 Livy, *Periochae* 208.
- 8 Frontinus, *Aqueducts* 2.129.
- 9 *Inscriptiones Italiae* 13.2.117.
- 10 Augustus, *Res Gestae* 2.12.
- 11 A controversial cover building designed by Richard Meier and opened in 2006 now houses the Ara Pacis.
- 12 R.A. Staccioli, *Guida di Roma Antica*, Milan, 1986, pp. 347–8.
- 13 Staccioli 1986, p. 348.
- 14 Augustus, *Res Gestae* 2.12.
- 15 An alternative interpretation is the woman is Julia, Agrippa's wife.
- 16 The identification of the figures continues to be controversial; for example, see John R. Crawford, "A Child Portrait of Drusus Junior on the Ara Pacis," *American Journal of Archaeology* 26, 1922, pp. 307–315, who discusses A. von Domaszewski, "Die Familie des Augustus auf der Ara Pacis," *Jh. Oest. Arch. I.* 6, 1903, pp. 57ff.; Mrs. Arthur Strong, *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine*, 1907, pp. 39ff.; J. Sieveking, "Zur Ara Pacis Augustae," in *Jh. Oest. Arch. I.* 10, 1907, pp. 175ff.; F. Studniczka, "Zur Ara Pacis," *Abh. Sächs. Ges., Phil.-Hist. Kl.*

	27, 1909, pp. 911ff.; and E. Petersen's exhaustive study, <i>Ara Pacis Augustae</i> , 1902. Most authors agree the figure in <i>caligae</i> and wearing the <i>paludamentum</i> is Drusus the Elder.
17	Dio 55.1.1.
18	Dio 55.1.1–2.
19	Suetonius, <i>Tiberius</i> 1.2–4.
20	Cassiodorus, <i>Chronicon</i> 385D. An inscription, <i>CIL</i> 13.5688, 5679, found at Langres, attesting to a priest of Augustus, is noted by Severley 2003, p. 117.
21	Florus 4.30.27: “ <i>Ea denique in Germania pax erat, ut mutati homines, alia terra, caelum ipsum mitius molliusque solito videretur</i> ”.
22	Dio 55.1.2. Florus 2.30.25–26 reports that Drusus divided up the livestock, loot and captives from the defeated tribes and sold them in the manner of a conqueror: “ <i>Victor namque Drusus equos, pecora, torques eorum ipsoque praedam divisit et vendidit</i> ”.
23	Dio 55.1.2.
24	Florus 4.30.27: “ <i>Invisum atque inaccessum in id tempus Hercynium saltum patefecit</i> ”.
25	Caesar, <i>Bellum Gallicum</i> 6.25; Tacitus, <i>Germania</i> 28, 30; <i>Annales</i> 2.45; Pliny, <i>Naturalis Historia</i> 4.25 (as <i>Hercynius jugum</i>), 10.67 (as <i>Hercynius saltus</i>); Livy 5.24; Ptolemy 2.11.5; Strabo 4.6.9; 7.1.3, 5.
26	Pomponius Mela, <i>De Chorographia</i> 3.29.
27	Caesar, <i>Bellum Gallicum</i> 7.25.

K. Bertsch, *Geschichte des deutschen Waldes*, Jena, 1953, p. 119, fig. 95, cited by H. Jahnkun, “Siedlung, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaftsordnung der germanischen Stämme in der Zeit der römischen Angriffskriege”, in H. Temporini & W. Haase (eds.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel d. neueren Forschung*, Vol. II.5.1, Stuttgart, 1976, pp. 71–73.

Caesar, *Bellum Gallicum* 6.25–28; Walter Woodburn Hyde, “The Curious Animals of the Hercynian Forest”, *The Classical Journal* 13.4 (January 1918), p. 231.

Dio 55.1.2. Marsi: Tacitus, *Germania* 2.4. Little is known about the Marsi nation at this period though they are believed to have lived in the region bounded by the Elbe, Lippe, Rhine and Ruhr Rivers. In 9 CE they would side with the Cherusci in the coalition that defeated the Romans at Teutoburg, and figure much more prominently in the subsequent wars undertaken by Germanicus.

Dio 55.1.2–3.

Dio 55.2.4–5; *Inscriptiones Italiae* 13.2.117.

A.L. Kutter, *Dynasty and Empire in the Age of Augustus: The Case of the Boscoreale Cups*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995, pp. 94–123. Kuttner argues persuasively that the

children and adults are Gauls and that the event depicted occurred in 13 or 10 BCE (pp. 118–119), rejecting the consensus that they are “leaders of a newly conquered tribe” who are “handing over their children as hostages for continued good behavior” (p. 99). Creating champions of the Roman way by educating the children of non-Roman rulers in Rome was a practice which Augustus, in fact, carried out routinely with foreign peoples, both adversaries and allies, citing Suetonius, *Augustus* 48. I agree with Kuttner’s benign interpretation of the event but do not accept they are Gauls, preferring the identification of the non-Romans as generic Germanic stereotypes, and suggest the date could be any associated with the German War (12–9 BCE).

34 Dio 54.34.1–2.

35 Dio 55.2.4.

36 Dio 55.1.3.

37 Dio 55.1.3; cf. Suetonius, *Claudius* 1.2. D. Felton, *Haunted Greece and Rome: Ghost Stories from Classical Antiquity*, Austin, 1999, pp. 31–32, notes a tradition in classical literature for “female ghost warning figures”. For a summary of theories attempting to explain apparitions see Brian Righi, *Ghosts, Apparitions and Poltergeists: An Exploration of the Supernatural Through History*, Woodbury, Minn., 2008, pp. 59–83.

- 38 Suetonius, *Claudius* 1.2: “*species barabarae mulieris humana amplior victorem tendere ultra sermone Latino prohibuisset*”.
- 39 Paoli 1963, p. 279; Felton 1999, pp. 1–21.
- 40 J.B. Russell, *A History of Witchcraft: Sorcerers, Heretics, and Pagans*, London, 1995. The Greeks believed in creatures of the night, the leaper *ephialtes* and the ogre *mora*.
- 41 N. Kiessling, *The incubus in English Literature: Provenance and Progeny*, Seattle, 1977, p. 5; Russell 1995.
- 42 M. Hersen, S.M. Turner, D.C. Beidel (eds.), *Adult Psychopathology and Diagnosis*, Hoboken, 2007.
- 43 J.A. Cheyne. “Preventing and Coping with Sleep Paralysis”, <http://watarts.uwaterloo.ca/~acheyne/prevent.html> [URL inactive]
- 44 Dio 55.1.3 goes on to comment, “it is indeed marvellous that such a voice should have come to any man from the Deity, yet I cannot discredit the tale; for Drusus immediately departed ...”
- 45 Dio 55.1.3; Florus 2.30.23–24; Valerius Maximus 5.5.3. The mention of Marcommanic spoils is curious since the accounts do not mention Drusus’ forces engaging them.
- 46 Ptolemy 2.10.
- 47 Poppenburg in Lower Saxony on the Hellweg has recently been proposed by Jürgen Martin Regel, <http://zocher-regel.gmxhome.de/>

- 55 Hughston Sports Medicine Foundation, <http://www.hughston.com/hha/a.horse.htm> [URL inactive]; see also L.G. Danielsson and N.E. Westlin, "Riding Accidents", *Acta Orthopaedica* 44.6 (1973), pp. 597–603.
- 56 Hughston Sports Medicine Foundation, <http://www.hughston.com/hha/a.horse.htm>
- 57 Pam Hunter: <http://www.petpeoplesplace.com/resources/articles/horses/242-horse-weight-chart.htm>
- 58 John R. Cameron, James G. Skofronick, Roderick M. Grant, *Physics of the Body*, Madison, Wisconsin, 1999; David Taylor, "Fracture mechanics: How does bone break?", *Nature Materials* 2 (1 March 2003), pp. 133–134.
- 59 University of Michigan Health System, http://www.med.umich.edu/1libr/sma/sma_femurfra_sma.htm
- 60 John Scarborough, "Roman Medicine and the Legions: A Reconsideration" in *Medical History*, Vol. 12.3 (1968), p. 257 and p. 260 cites Velleius Paterculus, 2.114.1–3 (by implication). Vegetius, *De Re Militari* 2.10; Roy Davies, *Service in the Roman Army*, Edinburgh, 1989, pp. 212–214.
- 61 Scarborough, 1968, p. 257 cites Plutarch, *Marius* 6.3. Davies, 1989, p. 215. Davies 1989, p. 214.
- 62 For fractures of the long bones (*humerus* and *femur*) see

	Hippokrates 3.7.4 (<i>On Surgery</i> 15, 16), and for fractures with wounds, Hippokrates 3.148ff. (<i>On Fractures</i> 24–32).
63	Hippokrates, <i>On Fractures</i> 15–18. Hippokrates describes how to make a mechanism to support the leg using rods, soft Egyptian circlets and leather thongs in <i>Fractures</i> 29.
64	Davies 1989, p. 215; Trajan's Column scene XL; Celsus 8.10.
65	Celsus, <i>De Medicina</i> 5.26.21–24.
66	Davies 1989, p. 215.
67	Suetonius, <i>Claudius</i> 1.3.
68	Dio 55.2.1. Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> 3.5.
69	Valerius Maximus 5.5.3; Dio 55.2.1; Seager 1972, p. 27. Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> 3.5.
70	Suetonius, <i>Claudius</i> 1.1; Livy, <i>Periochae</i> 142: " <i>Corpus a Nerone fratre, qui nuntio ualeitudinis euocatus raptim adcucurrerat ...</i> "
71	Valerius Maximus 5.5.3. Namantabagius appears as Antabagius in some versions of the text.
72	Dio 55.2.1.
73	Valerius Maximus 5.5.3.
74	Johne 2006, p. 104.
75	Pliny the Elder, <i>Naturalis Historia</i> 7.20.84.
76	Johne 2006, p. 105.
77	Valerius Maximus 5.5.3: " <i>Drusus quoque, quamquam fato iam suo quam illius officio propior erat, uigore spiritus et corporis uiribus conlapsus, eo ipso tamen, quo uita ac mors distinguitur, momento legiones cum insignibus suis fratri obuiam procedere iussit, ut imperator salutaretur</i> ".
78	Livy 2.19–20.
79	Suetonius, <i>Claudius</i> 1.3; Jürgen

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81

82

Martin Regel suggests *Castra Scelerata* is modern Schellerten, which he argues also preserves the outline of the camp in its street plan and bears a close resemblance to the plan of the fort at Hedemünden on the Werra: <http://zocher-regel.gmxhome.de/ArbaloSchlacht/13Scelerata.html> and <http://zocher-regel.gmxhome.de/ArbaloSchlacht/13Scelerata.html#referen>

Dio 55.2.1.

Dio 55.2.1; Valerius Maximus 5.5.3.

Livy, *Periochae* 142: “*Ipse ex fractura, equo super crus eius conlapso XXX die quam id acciderat, mortuus*”.

Chapter 7: Drusus the Hero

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Hippokates, *On Fractures* 35. J. Bartelmo & J. Curry (eds.), *Handbook of Diseases: Causes, Signs and Symptoms, Patient Care*, Philadelphia, 2009.

See http://www.emedicinehealth.com/gangrene/article_em.htm#Gangrene%20Overview

Celsus, *De Medicina* 5.26.31B-34; see also Hippocrates 3.352, 360, 432 (*Joints* 63, 69; *Mochlikon* 35).

See http://www.emedicinehealth.com/tetanus/article_em.htm#Tetanus%20Overview

Consolatio ad Liviam 83ff., 169ff.; Seneca, *Dialogi* 6.3.1, 11.15.5.

Flower 1996, p. 2 notes that the

	death mask is not to be confused with the <i>imago</i> made during life.
8	Paoli 1973, p. 128.
9	Suetonius, <i>Claudius</i> 1.3.
10	Seneca, <i>Consolatio ad Marciam</i> 3.1.
11	<i>Consolatio ad Liviam</i> 177.
12	Suetonius, <i>Tiberius</i> 7.3: “ <i>Drusum fratrem in Germania amisit, cuius corpus pedibus toto itinere praegrediens Romam usque peruexit</i> ”.
13	Suetonius, <i>Claudius</i> 1.3: “ <i>Corpus eius per municipiorum coloniarumque primores suscipientibus obviis scribarum decuriis ad urbem devectum sepultumque est in campo Martio</i> ”.
14	Seneca, <i>Consolatio ad Marciam</i> 3.1.
15	Seneca, <i>Consolatio ad Marciam</i> 3.1.
16	Seneca, <i>Consolatio ad Marciam</i> 3.1.
17	Suetonius, <i>Claudius</i> 1.3.
18	Paoli 1973, p. 129.
19	Dio 55.2.3.
20	Paoli 1973, p. 129.
21	Paoli 1973, p. 130.
22	Paoli 1973, p. 130.
23	Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> , 3.5: “ <i>circumfusas lecto Claudiorum Iuliorumque imagines</i> ”. Polybius 6.54; Flower 1996, p. 2.
24	Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> , 3.5. Peter Michael Swan argues that the eulogy took place from the Julian Rostrum in front of the Temple of Deified Iulius Caesar, not the public speaker’s platform outside the Senate House: P.M. Swan, <i>The Augustan</i>

Succession: An Historical Commentary on Cassius Dio's Roman History Books 55–56 (9 BC – AD 14), Oxford, 2004, p. 45.

25

Tacitus, *Annales*, 3.5: “*defletum in foro*”. Polybius 6.53. For a full discussion of funerary practices for public figures in Rome see Diane Favro and Christopher Johanson in “Death in Motion: Funeral Processions in the Roman Forum” in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 69.1, 2010, pp. 12–37.

26

Tacitus, *Annales*, 3.5. Paoli 1973, p. 131.

27

Tacitus, *Annales*, 3.5: “*laudatum pro rostris*”. Suetonius, *Tiberius* 6.4.

28

Bannon 1997, p. 179. Drusus was regarded as the equal of either Augustus or Tiberius for bringing glory to his family and for his achievements, e.g. Valerius Maximus, 4.3.3.: “*Drusum etiam Germanicum, eximiam Claudiae familiae gloriam patriaeque rarum ornamentum, et quod super omnia est, operum suorum pro habitu aetatis magnitudine uirico pariter ac fratri Augustis duobus rei publicae diuinis oculis mirifice respondentem*”.

29

Dio 55.2.3.

30

Dio 55.2.2; Paoli 1973, p. 42, note 93, p. 47: the *pomerium* traced the outer limit of the Four Regions of Rome but was extended by Sulla and later Iulius Caesar.

31

Livy, *Periochae* 142 “*Laudatus est*

32

a Caesare Augusto uitrico. Et supremis eius plures honores dati” refers to ‘many distinctions’ conferred on Drusus; Suetonius, *Claudius* 1.5.

Suetonius, *Claudius* 1.5.1: “*Quod equidem magis ne praetermitterem rettuli, quam quia verum aut veri simile putem, cum Augustus tanto opere et vivum dilexerit, ut coheredem semper filiis instituerit, sicut quondam in senatu professus est, et defunctum ita pro contione laudaverit, ut deos precatus sit, similes ei Caesares suos facerent sibique tam honestum quandoque exitum darent quam illi dedissent*”. The most widely issued coin of the period (minted in Lugdunum) shows the head of Augustus on the obverse and on the reverse the figures of the two young Caesars in their togas, each standing next to a circular shield and spear (*aureus*: RIC 206, BMC 515; *denarius*: BMC 533, RIC 207).

33

Dio 55.2.2–3.

34

Paoli 1973, p. 131.

35

Paoli 1973, pp. 131–132.

36

Livy, *Periochae* 142.

37

Strabo 5.3.9. Image of Augustus: scholars continue to debate whether Strabo meant by the word *eikon* a single statue or a group of statues with Augustus riding a four-horse chariot. Evergreen trees: Strabo describes rings of trees that were *aeithalesi*, “always green”, that covered the tumulus. The most likely trees set into the outer ring of semi-circular

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planters were holly oak (*Quercus ilex*), the only species of ever-green oak that grows in central Italy. Leaves from the holly oak were the first type used for the *corona civica* award (Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* 16.11). Laurel bushes likely decorated the middle and upper concentric rings of the mausoleum.

Davies 2004, p. 14.

Davies 2004, p. 14.

Davies 2004, pp. 14–15.

Suetonius, *Claudius* 1.5: “*Nec contentus elogium tumulo eius versibus a se compositis insculpsisse, etiam vitae memoriam prosa oratione composuit*” – the text of the verse does not survive.

Suetonius, *Claudius* 1.3–4.

Florus 2.30.28: “*Denique non per adulationem, sed ex meritis, defuncto ibi fortissimo iuvene ...*”
Dio 55.1. 3; Suetonius, *Claudius* 1.3–4: “*Praeterea senatus inter alia complura marmoreum arcum cum tropaeis via Appia decrevit ...*”

See RIC 114, SME 1852. Marvin Tameanko, *Monumental Coins: Buildings and Structures on Ancient Coins*, Iola, Wis., 1999, pp. 190–191. The so-called ‘Arch of Drusus’ still standing in Rome was built two centuries after Drusus’ death and was actually one of the decorated arches of the Aqua Antoniana aqueduct crossing the *via Appia*. Compare this with the partially restored Arch of Augustus in Rimini, Italy.

Suetonius, *Claudius* 1.3–4.

Dio 55.2.3; Florus 2.30.28: “... *senatus cognomen ex provincia dedit*”; Ovid, *Fasti* 1.597: “... *et mortem et nomen Druso Germania fecit*”; Suetonius, *Claudius* 1.4: “... *et Germanici cognomen ipsi posterisque eius*”; *Consolatio ad Liviam* 337, 457. The honorary name *Germanicus* translates as ‘the German’ but was intended to mean ‘victor over the *Germani*’ or even ‘the German-slayer’. C. Marius was credited as a slayer of Germans after the battles at Aquae Sextiae (102 BCE) and Vercellae at Raudian Plains (101 BCE), but he was not granted use of the *agnomen*: Plutarch, *Marius*, 2; Sallust, *Bellum Iugurthinum*, 63.3, 85.32; Valerius Maximus, 2.2.3.

Florus 2.30.28: “*Denique non per adulationem, sed ex meritis, defuncto ibi fortissimo iuvene, ipse, quod numquam alias, senatus cognomen ex provincia dedit*”.

Florus asserts that the Senate’s grant of the title derived from the name of a province was an unparalleled honour, but he seems to have overlooked the other distinguished victors.

CIL 6.37063 found near S. Francesco di Paolo, Rome in 1897 in Arthur Ernest Gordon, *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*, Berkeley, 1983, No. 27, p. 102.

Seneca, *Consolatio ad Marciam* 3.2: “*Non desiit denique Drusi sui celebrare nomen, ubique illum sibi priuatim publiceque repraesentare, libentissime de illo loqui, de illo*

53

audire: cum memoria illius uixit, quam nemo potest retinere et frequentare qui illam tristem sibi reddidit".

54

Seneca, *Consolatio ad Marciam* 3.2.

It is unlikely that Ovid scribed the elegy entitled *Consolatio ad Liviam* and there are even doubts that it is contemporary with the funeral. See Ancient Sources.

55

Consolatio ad Liviam 1–20, 75–84.

56

Consolatio ad Liviam 85–94.

57

Consolatio ad Liviam 179–252.

58

Consolatio ad Liviam 265–270.

59

Consolatio ad Liviam 329–340.

60

Consolatio ad Liviam 445–470.

61

"Inter imagines vivorum illustris ingeni" inscribed on the so-called *Tabula Hebana* – a bronze tablet found in pieces at Magliano in the Tiber valley in 1947 and 1951 cited in Gordon 1983, No. 36, pp. 111–112. *Tabula Hebana*: "... *qui ipse quoque fecundi ingeni fuit*", cited in Gordon 1983, No. 36, pp. 111–112.

63

Dio 55.2.5–6, 53.13.2.

64

Dio 55.2.3; Suetonius, *Claudius* 1.3; Eutropius 7.13.1.

65

Davies 2004, pp. 52–53. I am grateful to Dorian Borbonus, History Department, Dayton University, for the comparison with the 'Tumulus of the Servilii'.

66

The German name *Eichelstein* means 'acorn stone', perhaps preserving the memory of an acorn finial, or just a reference to its ruined shape.

For a full discussion of the monument and its significance see A. Panter, “Der Drususstein in Mainz und dessen Einordnung in die römische Grabarchitektur seiner Erbauungszeit”, *Mainzer Archäologische Schriften* 6, 2007: he states that the monument in its current condition is 20 metres shorter than in its original state. Dorian Borbonus notes the height of the extant ‘Tumulus of the Servilii’ is 16m but may have originally stood over 20m citing Michael Eisner, *Zur Typologie der Grabbauten im Suburbium Roms*, 1986.

Suetonius, *Claudius* 1.3: “*Ceterum exercitus honorarium ei tumulum excitavit, circa quem deinceps stato die quotannis miles decurreret ...*” Drusus’ son Germanicus instigated games in honour of his father while on campaign in Germania in 16 CE: Tacitus, *Annales* 2.7.

Suetonius, *Claudius* 1.3: “... *Galliarumque civitates publice supplicarent*”.

Unpublished translation *Tabula Siarensis*, “Honors for Germanicus” by David Potter, <http://www.umich.edu/~classics/programs/class/cc/372/sibyl/db/H006.html> [URL inactive]

Unpublished translation by David Potter (see note 70).

Notes to the unpublished translation by David Potter (see note 70).

Josephus, *Jewish War* 1.411–13 cited in Holum 1988, p. 90.

74	Holum 1996, Appendix 1, p. 202.
75	Holum 1988, pp. 98–99.
76	Suetonius, <i>Claudius</i> 1.4–5.
77	Suetonius, <i>Claudius</i> 1.5: “ <i>Vnde existimo nonnullos tradere ausos, suspectum eum Augusto revocatumque ex provincia et quia cunctaretur, interceptum veneno</i> ”. On Drusus’ known enthusiasm for the old <i>res publica</i> , see Chapter 3, note 56.
78	Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> 1.33: “ <i>quippe Drusi magna apud populum Romanum memoria, credebaturque, si rerum potitus foret, libertatem redditurus</i> ”.
79	Suetonius, <i>Claudius</i> 1.5.
80	Suetonius, <i>Claudius</i> 1.5.
81	Suetonius, <i>Claudius</i> 1.5: see note 41.
82	Dio 55.6.1.
83	Florus 2.30.30–31: “ <i>quippe Germani victi magis quam domiti errant, moresque nostros magis quam arma sub imperatore Druso suspiciebant</i> ”.
84	Dio 55.6.5; Velleius Paterculus 2.97.4.
85	Cf. Suetonius, <i>Tiberius</i> 37.4; Rainer Wiegels, “Von der Niederlage des M. Lollius bis zur Niederlage des Varus: Die roemische Germanienpolitik in der Zeit des Augustus,” in Helmuth Schneider (ed.), <i>Feindliche Nachbarn: Rom und die Germanen</i> , Köln, 2008, pp. 60–62.
86	Dio 55.6.2.
87	Dio 55.6.3.
88	Dio 55.6.2–3.
89	Dio 55.6.3.
90	Augustus, <i>Res Gestae</i> 6.32: “ <i>Ad</i>

me supplices confugerunt reges... Sugambrorum Maelo".

Eutropius 7.9.4; Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 21.2; *Tiberius* 9.2; Strabo 7.1.4; J. Heinrichs, "Zur Verwicklung Ubischer Gruppen in den Ambiorix-Aufstand d. J. 54 v. Chr.: Eburonische und ubische Münzen im Hortfund Fraire-2", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 127, 1999, pp. 275–293. Heinrichs, in Grünewald and Schalles 2000, pp. 55–57.

Tacitus, *Annales* 4.47.4.

Dio 55.6.4.

Dio 55.8.3.

Dio 55.8.2. The temple was not opened and dedicated until 16 January 10 CE, Dio 56.25.1; Seager 1972, p. 28, note 1.

Dio 55.8.2.

Dio 55.8.3.

Dio 55.10.2.

Dio 55.10.2.

Dio 55.10.3.

Dio 55.10.3.

Dio 55.10.3.

Velleius Paterculus 2.99.4; Suetonius, *Tiberius* 10.2, 12.1–2, 13.1.

Dio 55.13.1a.

Dio 55.28.5–7.

Anreppen: J.S. Köhlborn, "Schlagkraft: Die Feldzüge unter Augustus und Tiberius in Nordwestdeutschland", in L. Wamser *et al.* (eds.), *Die Römer zwischen Alpen und Nordmeer*, Düsseldorf, 2000, pp. 32–33; Wells 1972, pp. 222–224. Haltern: Köhlborn 2000, pp. 30–32; Wells 1972, pp. 177–211. Marktbreit: H. Wolff in

- CAH, 1996, p. 538; S. von Schnurbein, “Die augusteischen Stützpunkte in Mainfranken und Hessen,” in L. Wamser *et al.* 2000, pp. 35–36; Czysz, Dietz, Fischer and Kellner 2005, p. 63 and pp. 475–479. Oberhausen: H. Wolff in CAH, 1996, p. 538.
- 107 Dio 55.28.6–7.
- 108 Dio 56.18.1–2.
- 109 G. Rasbach & A. Becker, “Neue Forschungsergebnisse der Grabung in Lahnau-Waldgirmes in Hessen”, in L. Wamser *et al.* 2000, pp. 38–40.
- 110 Suetonius, *Tiberius* 15.2. Tiberius’ name changed to Ti. Iulius Caesar while Agrippa’s son’s new name became M. Iulius Caesar Vipsanianus Agrippa Postumus.
- 111 Dio 55.13.2–3: Germanicus’ name changed to Germanicus Iulius Caesar.
- 112 Dio 55.27.3–4; B. Levick, *Claudius*, London, 1990, p. 13.
- 113 Valerius Maximus 5.5.3, cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 1.705–706. On *pietas* see Bannon 1997, p. 179.
- 114 Dio 55.28.6.
- 115 Velleius Paterculus 2.108.1–2.109.3.
- 116 Dio 55.28.7.
- 117 Dio 56.18.1–4; Florus 2.30.31; Velleius Paterculus 2.117.3–118.2.
- 118 The site is widely believed to be Kalkriese in Osnabrücker Land, Lower Saxony. For a full discussion of the battle, see *Ancient Warfare*, Special 1, 2009 or Adrian Murdoch, *Rome’s Greatest Defeat: Massacre at Teutoburg Forest*, Stroud, 2006

	and Peter S. Wells, <i>The Battle that Stopped Rome</i> , New York, 2003.
119	Suetonius, <i>Tiberius</i> 17.1.
120	Velleius Peterculus 2.118.2–4.
121	Dio 56.23.1.
122	Dio 56.23.2.
123	Dio 56.23.3.
124	Dio 56.23.4.
125	Dio 56.22.4.
126	Suetonius, <i>Divus Augustus</i> 23.2.
127	Suetonius, <i>Tiberius</i> 18.1–2, 20; Dio 56.26.1.
128	Suetonius, <i>Tiberius</i> 22.
129	Suetonius, <i>Tiberius</i> 27–32.1.
130	Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> 1.17.
131	Suetonius, <i>Caligula</i> 4.
132	Suetonius, <i>Tiberius</i> 37.4.
133	Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> 2.8: “ <i>Iamque classis advenerat, cum praemisso commeatu et distributis in legiones ac socios navibus fossam, cui Drusianae nomen, ingressus precatusque Drusum patrem ut se eadem ausum libens placatusque exemplo ac memoria consiliorum atque operum iuvaret, lacus inde et Oceanum usque ad Amisiam flumen secunda navigatione pervehitur</i> ”.
134	Suetonius, <i>Caligula</i> 1.1.
135	Levick 1990, p. 151.
136	Eutropius 7.11.2; Levick 1990, p. 151.
137	Tacitus, <i>Germania</i> 5.3–5; Levick 1990, p. 151; Taylor 2009, p. 47; Wells 1999, pp. 235–255.
138	Suetonius, <i>Tiberius</i> 25.2.
139	Suetonius, <i>Caligula</i> 1.2.
140	Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> 2.72; Seager 1972, pp. 105–106.
141	Suetonius, <i>Caligula</i> 2.
142	Suetonius, <i>Caligula</i> 6.1–2.
143	Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> 3.1–3.

144	Suetonius, <i>Tiberius</i> 39, 41.
145	Suetonius, <i>Tiberius</i> 65.1.
146	Suetonius, <i>Tiberius</i> 43–44.2.
147	Suetonius, <i>Tiberius</i> 62.1; Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> 2.43, 4.3.
148	Suetonius, <i>Tiberius</i> 61.1.
149	Suetonius, <i>Tiberius</i> 73.1, 75.1; Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> 6.50.
150	Eutropius 7.12.1.
151	Suetonius, <i>Caligula</i> 9.
152	Suetonius, <i>Caligula</i> 10.1, 24.1.
153	Suetonius, <i>Caligula</i> 13–14.1.
154	Suetonius, <i>Caligula</i> 10.2.
155	Suetonius, <i>Caligula</i> 15.2.
156	Suetonius, <i>Caligula</i> 23.2.
157	Suetonius, <i>Caligula</i> 50.2–3, 51.1
158	Eutropius 7.12.3; Levick 1990, p. 152.
159	Suetonius, <i>Caligula</i> 19.3, 46.
160	Suetonius, <i>Caligula</i> 47.
161	Suetonius, <i>Caligula</i> 58.1–3.
162	Dio 60.1.1–4; Suetonius, <i>Claudius</i> 10.1–2.
163	Eutropius 7.13.1.
164	Suetonius, <i>Claudius</i> 10.4.
165	Levick 1990, pp. 31–39.
166	Seneca, <i>Consolatio Ad Marciam</i> 3.1.
167	D. Nony, “Sur quelques monnaies impériales romaines”, <i>Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome: Antiquité</i> 94–2, 1982, pp. 893–909; W. Trillmich, <i>Familienpropaganda der Kaiser Caligula und Claudius: Agrippina Maior und Antonia Augusta auf Münzen</i> , Berlin, 1978, pp. 71– 77.
168	Suetonius, <i>Claudius</i> 41.2–3.
169	Suetonius, <i>Claudius</i> 41.2–3.
170	A silvered-bronze decorative horse trapping with his name and rank punched in it found at Vetera/Xanten is in the

collection of the British Museum, London.
 Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae* 3.5.4: “*Bellorum Germaniae viginti*”; *quibus quae cum Germanis gessimus bella collegit. Incohavit cum in Germania militaret, somnio monitus: adstitit ei quiescenti Drusi Neronis effigies, qui Germaniae latissime victor ibi periit, commenadabat memoriam suam orabatque ut se iniuria oblivionis aderet*”. Felton 1999, p. 75 notes the use of the phrases *ei quiescenti* and *effigies* and the benign apparition in a dream is associated with writing rather than anything sinister.

Tacitus, *Annales* 1.69.

Suetonius, *Claudius* 17.1; Levick 1990, pp. 137–139.

Eutropius 7.13.3.

Suetonius, *Claudius* 17.3.1.

Suetonius, *Claudius* 17.2.

Suetonius, *Vespasianus* 4.1.

Probably in September: Levick 1990, p. 143.

Levick 1990, p. 143.

Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* 3.20.16.

Suetonius, *Claudius* 17.2.

Levick 1990, p. 177.

Suetonius, *Claudius* 17.3.

Aureus: BMCRE 32; *denarius*: RIC 34, BMCRE 35.

Levick 1990, p. 45.

Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* 36.15.125 is the sole surviving literary evidence, per R. Gardner’s review of *La via Claudia Augusta Altinate*, *JRS* 31 (1941), pp. 209–213. Helmut Bender, “Transport und Verkehr,” in Wamser *et al.*

187	2004, pp. 254–256.
188	Levick 1990, p. 177.
189	Suetonius, <i>Claudius</i> 26.1–3.
190	Suetonius, <i>Claudius</i> 27.1–2.
191	Suetonius, <i>Claudius</i> 27.1.
	Suetonius, <i>Claudius</i> 27.1;
	Eutropius 7.13.4.
192	The boy's natural grandfather was the legate who had crossed the Elbe River in 1 CE.
193	Eutropius 7.14.1.
194	Eutropius 7.15.1.
195	Eutropius 7.16–18.
196	Suetonius, <i>Titus</i> 2.
197	Suetonius, <i>Titus</i> 2.
198	W.G. Sayles, <i>Ancient Coin Collecting: The Roman World – Politics and Propaganda</i> , Iola, 2007, p. 74. The <i>sestertius</i> , catalogued as BMCRE 226, is usually identified as minted under Claudius, but Harold Mattingly has argued for the early reign of Titus.
199	Heinz Cüppers, Helmut Bernhard, Walburg Boppert (eds.), <i>Die Römer in Rheinland- Pfalz</i> , Stuttgart, 1990, pp. 463– 464 (ground plan p. 464).
200	Dr. Gerd Rupprecht, <i>Das römische Bühnentheater von Mogontiacum/Mainz</i> : http:// www.theatrum-mainz.de/ index.php/ rupprecht_mai2001.html
201	Jens Dolata, <i>Ziegelstempel vom Mainzer Bühnentheater</i> (Forschungsprojekt Römische Baukeramik und Ziegelstempel): http://www.ziegelforschung.de/ index.php/ziegelstempel-vom- mainzer-buehnen-theater.html
202	Heinz Cüppers <i>et al.</i> , <i>Die Römer in Rheinland-Pfalz</i> , Stuttgart,

	1990, p. 84; Elmar Rettinger, <i>2000 Jahre Mainz. Geschichte der Stadt digital</i> , Mainz, 2003.
203	Cüppers 1990, p. 15–16.
204	Christian Gotthülff Blumberg, <i>Der Eichelstein: das ist Neronis Claudi Drusi monumentum, Oder das zu Mainz berühmte ist zerstörte Ehren-Grab</i> , Chemnitz, 1697.
205	Cüppers 1990, pp. 20–21.
206	Michel de Montaigne, <i>Les Essais (The Essays)</i> , Book 2, Chapter 12.
207	P.K. Eubel, <i>Geschichte der Kölnischen Minoritenordensprovinz</i> , Köln, 1906, pp. 34, 60, 73.
208	Murdoch 2006, p. 157.
209	Murdoch 2006, pp. 157–158.
210	Alan Watson, <i>The Germans: Who Are They Now?</i> , London, 1992, pp. 121–122.
211	Watson 1992, pp. 20–25.
212	Harold James, <i>A German Identity: 1770–1990</i> , New York, 1989, p. 18.
213	James 1989, pp. 18, 36–37.
214	Heinrich Luden, <i>Geschichte des deutschen Volkes</i> , Gotha, 1825, Vol. 1, Book 2, Chapter 2 (pp. 174–193) discusses the campaigns of Drusus the Elder in Germany, 12–9 BCE. Luden remarks emotively, for example: “ <i>Drusus war kaum in Gallien angekommen, so traf er Anstalten für das blutige Werk... Drusus aber, um dieses Land wenig bekümmert, richtete alle seine Macht gegen die Völker, die rechts vom Maine wohnten. Er suchte sogar vom nördlichen Meere her den Eingang zu finden. Dieses</i>

Verfahren hat sich im Fortgange der Zeit als einen Fehler von großer Bedeutung und von schweren Folgen gezeigt. Ohne diesen Fehler würde Deutschlands Rettung vielleicht nicht möglich gewesen sein. Und doch hatte er selbst, Drusus, gute Gründe zu seinem Verfahren” (p. 175); and “Den Künsten des Drusus aber gelang es, die Bataver und vielleicht auch die Friesen, unter dem Namen von Bundes-Genossen zu bethören, und ihre Kräfte für die Unterjochung Deutschlands, das auch ihr Vaterland war, zu gewinnen” (p. 181); and “Er durchzog das Land der Usipitern und Sigambrer, drohend und zerstörend, ohne That und ohne Ruhm” (p. 182–184).

215

Dr August Benedict Wilhelm, *Die Feldzüge des Nero Claudius Drusus in nördlichen Deutschland*, Halle, 1826, pp. xi-xxiv: “ich darf dieß um so weniger bei meinem Drusus, da derselbe wider Erwarten einen Gegner gefunden hat, gegen welchen ich meinen Helden zu verteidigen habe... Du fragst mich wißbegierig, geliebter Leser, wer denn dieser gefürchtete Gegner sey? — und ich weise ehrfurchtsvoll hin auf die Geschichte des Teutschen Volkes von Heinrich Luden, deren erster Band von Justus Perthes in Gotha bereits in alle Welt versendet woran dem Gegner anerkennen, ehren wir uns selbst, und der große Tag im Teutoburger Walde windet erst dann den unvergänglichen Lorber um die Häupter der germanischen Helden,

je bedeutender und einflußreicher
der Römer Macht schon vor
diesem Tage in unsern
vaterländischen Gauen gewesen
ist." (p. xi); "Aber es gilt eine
hochwichtige Sache, und an wen
sonst, als an ihn, sollte mich
halten? Keine Begeisterung für die
vaterländische Geschichte leitet
mich, wie sie ihn geleitet ..." (p.
xxiii). Wilhelm explains the
need for reporting facts without
embellishment: "Die größte
Treue, ohne den überflüssigen
Schmuck eines nur zu leicht auf
Abwege führenden Raisonsnements,
muß ihm zu seinem Zwecke
genügen. So sah ich in den
Germanen nur ein Naturvolk, mit
all den großen Tugenden und
Fehlern, die in den rohen Söhnen
der Natur getroffen werden. Ich
fand sie ausgerüstet mit den
herrlichsten Anlagen, voller Kraft,
tapfer, kühn und unverdorben;
aber auch unvorsichtig, begierig
nach Gewinn und in sich selbst
zersplittert, ohne Einheit und
gemeinsame Kraft, den eignen
Stammgenossen durch Parteisucht
oft verderblicher als den Söhnen
der Fremde. Und wo es in einem
Volke, es mag noch so tapfer und
heldenkühn seyn, an dem
politischen Zusammenwirken
gebricht, da hat ein civilisirter,
besonnener Feind gewonnenes
Spiel; und so erklärten sich mir die
wunderbaren Siege meines Helden
auf die einfachste Weise, ohne
daß ich bei den römischen
Geschichtschreibern eine
absichtliche Uebertreibung oder
gar Verfälschung des

216

*Thatbestandess anzunehmen
genöthiget war*” (pp. xiii-xiv).
Consolatio ad Liviam 265–266:
“*Facta ducis vivent, operosaque
gloria rerum; / Haec manet; haec
avidos effugit una rogos*”.

217

James 1989, pp. 36–37.

218

James 1989, pp. 8, 18–19.

219

James 1989, pp. 64–66, 76, 85.

220

James 1989, p. 115.

221

James 1989, pp. 136–160.

222

Deutsche Bundespost issued the stamp on 10 May 1962 based on the misunderstanding that the Romans established a base there in 38 BCE. The design is a modern reworking of ‘Der Aichelstein’ in the *Topographia Archiepiscopatum Moguntinensis* of 1646 by Matthäus Merian der Ältere (1593–1650).

Chapter 8: Assessment

1

Valerius Maximus, 4.3.3:
“*Antonia quoque, femina laudibus
uirilem familiae suae claritatem
supergressa, amorem mariti
egregia fide pensauit, quae post
eius excessum forma <et> aetate
florens conuictum socrus pro
coniugio habuit, in eodemque toro
alterius adolescentiae uigor
extinctus est, alterius uiduitatis
experientia consenuit*”. Kokkinos
1992, pp. 15–16.

2

Seneca, *Consolatio ad Marciam*
3.1: “*Liuiam amiserat filium
Drusum, magnum futurum
principem ...*”; cf. Tacitus,
Annales 6.51 and Velleius
Paterculus 2.97.

3

Tacitus, *Annales* 11.24 and
recorded directly in a Lyon
inscription (CIL 13.1668).

- 4 “*Inter imagines vivorum illustris ingeni ...qui ipse quoque fecundi ingeni fuit*” inscribed on the so-called *Tabula Hebana* – a bronze tablet found in pieces at Magliano in the Tiber valley in 1947 and 1951, in Gordon 1983, No. 36, pp. 111–112.
- 5 Renovations were undertaken under Hadrian, possibly including the installation of the Egyptian syenite columns now in the Abbaye d’Ainay, Rozier 2009, 9. Dio 54.32.1 refers to the altar being in use in his own day; the city of Lugdunum continued to flourish until Germanic invaders damaged the aqueducts in around 360 CE, whereafter its fortunes waned; MacKendrick 1971, p. 72.
- 6 Seneca, *Consolatio ad Marciam* 3.1: “*Liuvia amiserat filium Drusum, ...iam magnum ducem*”.
- 7 Carl Philipp Gottlieb von Clausewitz, *On War (Vom Kriege)*, Vol. 1, translated by Col. J.J. Graham, London, 1873, Chapter 3.
- 8 Theodor Mommsen, Barbara Demandt, Alexander Demandt, *A History of Rome Under the Emperors*, London, 1996, p. 109.
- 9 C. Mossé, *Alexander: Destiny and Myth*, Baltimore, 2004, p. 5–7.
- 10 D.J. Lonsdale, *Alexander the Great: Killer of Men*, New York, 2004, p. 202.
- 11 Lonsdale 2004, p. 197.
- 12 Lonsdale 2004, pp. 187–203.
- 13 Lonsdale 2004, pp. 210–211.
- 14 Lonsdale 2004, p. 199.
- 15 Lonsdale 2004, p. 213.
- 16 Timpe 2006, pp. 172–174; Guy

- MacLean Rogers, *Alexander: The Ambiguity of Greatness*, New York, 2004, pp. 202–210.
- 17 John D. Grainger, *Alexander the Great Failure*, London, 2007.
- 18 Rogers 2004, pp. 293–294.
- 19 Kuttner 1995, p. 198. Cassius Dio, 55.5.2, notes that Augustus lost more by Drusus' death than gained by his victories; and 55.5.1 "he made his formal return [to Rome] and carried the laurel, contrary to custom, into the temple of Jupiter Feretrius" in commemoration of the victory of his stepson.
- 20 Tacitus, *Annales* 1.43: "*tua, dive Auguste, caelo recepta mens, tua, pater Druse, imago, tui memoria isdem istis cum militibus, quos iam pudor et gloria intrat, eluant hanc maculam irasque civilis in exitium hostibus vertant*".
- 21 Syme 1978, p. 60 n. 2.
- 22 Example: C.E. Manning, *On Seneca's "Ad Marciam"*, Leiden, 1981, p. 41.
- 23 Anthony A. Barrett, *Caligula: The Corruption of Power*, Yale, 1989, p. 3.
- 24 Seneca, *Consolatio ad Marciam* 3.1: "*In expeditione decesserat ipsis illum hostibus aegrum cum ueneratione et pace mutua prosequentibus nec optare quod expediebat audentibus*".
- 25 Chester G. Starr, *The Roman Imperial Navy 31 BC – AD 324*, Cornell, 1941 (third edition), p. 142.
- 26 W. Rollo, "The Franco-German Frontier", in C.J. Ellingham, A.G. Russell (eds.), *Greece and Rome*, VIII, 22, October 1938, p.

27

49.

Suetonius, Claudius 1.4: “*Fuisse autem creditur non minus gloriosi quam civilis animi*”. The ambiguous word *civilis* can be translated as ‘of the citizens’, ‘political’, ‘democratic’, even as ‘courteous’.

28

Kuttner 1995, p. 177.

29

Recorded in Josiah Hotchkiss Gilbert, *Dictionary of Burning Words of Brilliant Writers: A Cyclopaedia of Quotations from the Literature of All Ages*, New York, 1895, p. 256.

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Celsus, *De Medicina* (*On Medicine*)
Diodorus Siculus, *Διόδωρου Σικελιώτου Βιβλιοθήκη Ἱστορική* (*Library of History*)
Eutropius, *Breviarium Historiae Romanae* (*Brief History of the Romans*)
Florus, *Epitome de T. Livio Bellorum Omnium Annorum* (*Epitome of Livy*)
Frontinus, *Strategemata* (*Stratagems*)
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